



# Hosea Stout

*Utah's*

## *Pioneer Statesman*

By

*Wayne Stout*

AUTHOR: Our Pioneer Ancestors

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By

Wayne Stout

Salt Lake City, Utah



## PREFACE

Hosea Stout, statesman, legislator—is the author of the diary that gives us a social history of the Territory of Utah. This journal is more than a daily chronicle of a busy policeman or the case histories of a fighting lawyer, it is a story of a struggle between two philosophies of religion. From a ring-side seat he witnessed the conflict and was a victim of its ravages. His position in society forced him to take an active part in the revolution—the greatest religious revolution of all times. He describes the clash in language so impressive our emotions are raised to the boiling point. Within the pages of this narrative we are led to feel the experiences of the pioneers, we see what they saw, and we live their struggles and aspirations. This social history will help us to appreciate and cherish our pioneers' contributions to religious and social thought.

The diary of Hosea Stout, when typed, contains about 1900 pages. To preserve the cream of this manuscript the journal was carefully edited. Relevancy was a first consideration. Extended quotations are made to emphasize crucial reactions. To give greater meaning to his place in history, his 125 ancestors and 588 descendants are fully introduced.

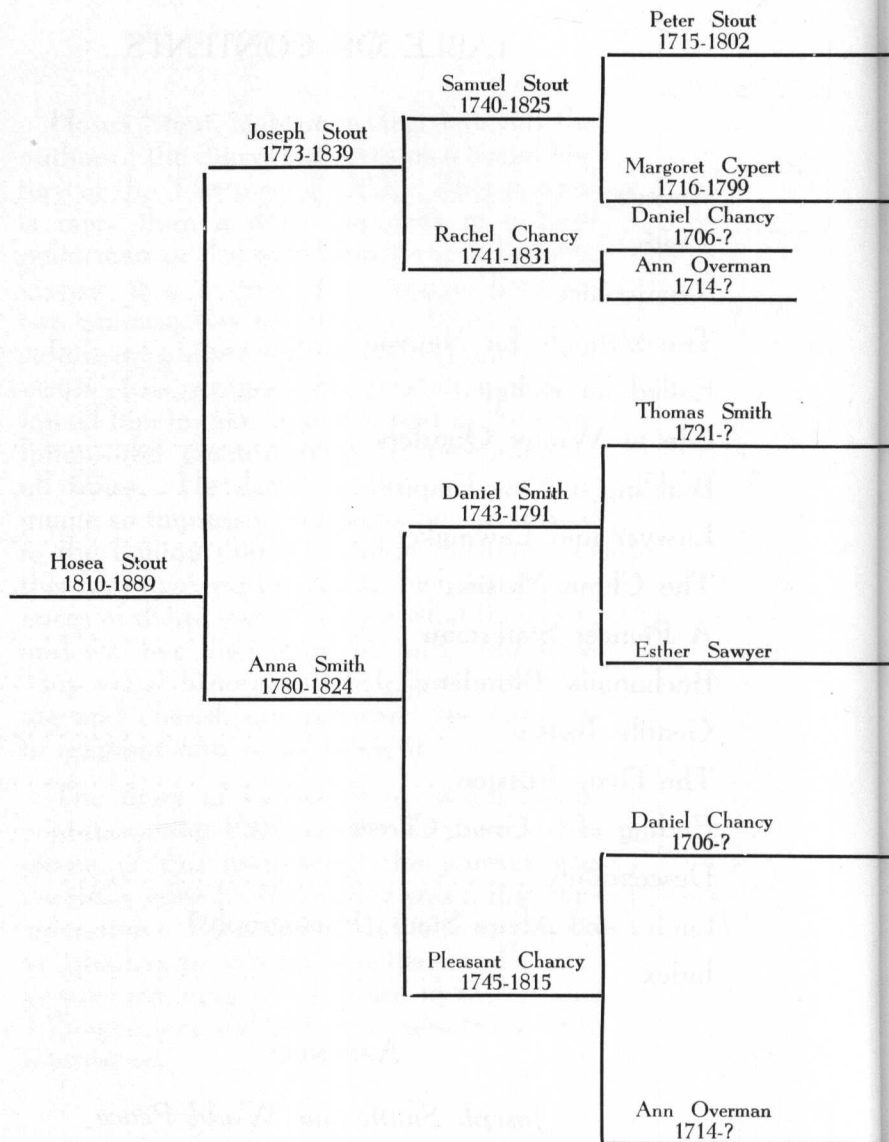
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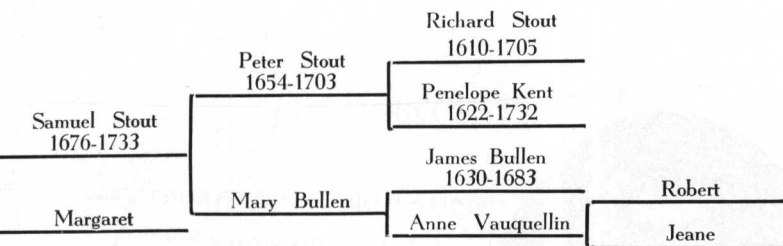
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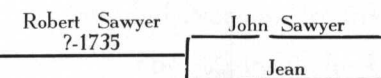
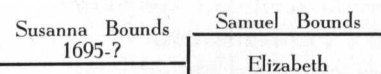
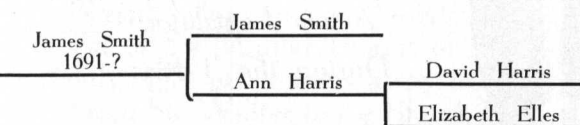




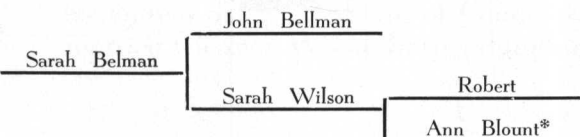
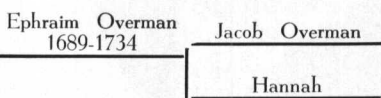
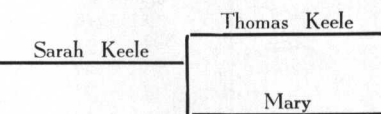
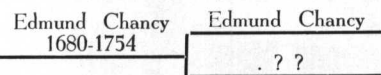


Lawrence Cypert

Margaret

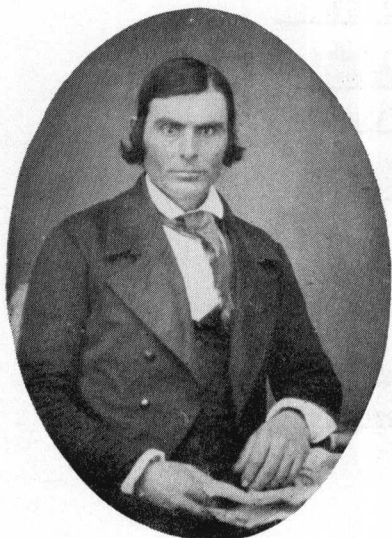


Frances

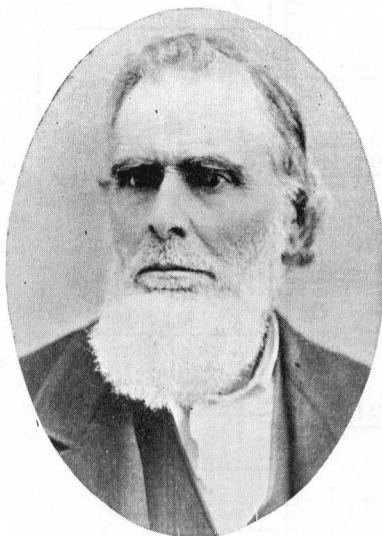


\* 20 Generations  
from Ann Blount  
to: LeBlond  
Lord of Guines  
in Normandy  
(1066)





HOSEA STOUT  
*Active Legislator  
During the 'Fifties*



HOSEA STOUT  
*After a well Spent Life  
About 1885*

## ANCESTRY

THE KEY TO A MAN'S CHARACTER is revealed by a study of his ancestors. Using this approach in our diagnosis of Hosea Stout we shall find that he comes from good stock. Hosea could well be proud of his ancestry for he came from men and women of noble birth. Six generations of mothers brings his lineage to Ann Blount, the daughter of Thomas Blount, who came to America in 1664. Thomas was the son of Sir Walter Blount of Soddington. So Hosea was only eight generations away from England's noble families. From Sir Walter to Le Bland, Lord of Guines, Normandy, there are nineteen more generations. Nash, in his History of Warchestershire, Vol. 2, page 157, gives a pedigree of the Blounts from Sir Walter Blount to Le Bland, the Lord of Guines, in Normandy. From history we learn that these Normans come down from Scandinavia and settled in Gaul, founded Normandy, then in 1066, conquered England.

The origin of the Le Bland family was in Italy, where the name was Biondi. Le Bland and his three sons accompanied William the Conqueror in the historic invasion of England. One of his sons returned to France, but William and Robert remained and became the ancestors of all the Blounts in England. Robert was created Baron of Exworth, County of Suffock; he married Gundred Ferrers, the daughter of Earl Ferrers. From this union came Gilbert Le Blunde, the founder of the Priory of Yorkworth in Suffolk. From the union of Gilbert and Alice de Colkirk came William Le Blund, a baron who married Sarah de Monchenfi, daughter of Hubert de Monchenfi. William died May 14, 1264, leaving son Hubert as his heir. Hubert married Agnes de Lifle, who was the first mother of a knighted Blund. Sir Stephen, the first knight in the family, married his cousin Maria Le Blunt, who gave him a son named William, better known as Sir William of Gloucestershire. This knight married Eleanor Wood thorpe, daughter of Sir John. From



this union we find another Sir William, who married the daughter of Sir John Meriott. Sir William III married Anne Tracy and became the father of a fourth William, a knight who married Isabel St. Maur, daughter of Sir John. Sir William IV, who was Lord of Belton, County of Rutland, decided the name William had spent itself so he named his heir Walter.

Sir Walter Blount, who is midway in this Blount line, married as his second wife, Joan de Sodington, daughter of Sir William. Joan was heir of the Sodington estates so her children inherited both the Blount titles and Sodington. Sir Walter died in 1316 leaving John his heir. This John was not knighted, married Ifolda, granddaughter of Sir Ralph Montjoye, so from this union we have Sir John Blount, heir of all the Blount and Montjoye titles and lands. Sir John married Juliana Foulhourst and became the father of another John who was not a knight. This knightless Blount married Ifabel Fowlehurft and became the father of another Sir John. This knight married Catherine Corbett, daughter of Thomas and granddaughter of Simon Corbett and Margaret Knight, thus becoming the father of knightless Peter Blount. This titleless Peter remained in high society by marrying the daughter of a knight, Miss Anne Cornewal, daughter of Sir Edward. By this union their son, Sir Thomas Blount, was made a knight. Sir Thomas married as his second wife, Joyce, daughter and heir of Thomas Shirley of Envile. Thomas and Joyce had two children, one of whom was Sir George Blount, who married Eleanor, daughter of William Northwood. Sir Thomas died in 1573 leaving Sir George sole heir of his lands and estates.

Sir George and Eleanor were the parents of six children, one of whom was the famous Sir Walter Blount, last in this lineage of 19 generations to die in England (1654). Sir Walter married Elizabeth Wylde, daughter of George, son of Thomas, who was the son of Simon Wylde. Sir Walter and Elizabeth were the parents of twelve children. The History of Worcestershire, mentioned above, which gives the Blount pedigree, does not show that Thomas was one of the twelve children. To prove that Thomas the im-

migrant was truly the son of Sir Walter Blunt, we must consult other authorities. In the "Visitation of Worcestershire," (1635, pages 12 and 13), a pedigree of the Blounts of Sodington is given. This pedigree only lists eleven children, Thomas is the sixth child in this group. This authority merely shows that Sir Walter had a son by the name of Thomas, but for proof that this Thomas was the one who married Ann Wilson and emigrated to America in 1664, we must consult other authorities.

We are indebted to Zella Armstrong, author of "Notable Southern Families," vol. 1, page 34, for the proof that Thomas Blount, son of Sir Walter, settled in North Carolina in 1664, married and had at least six sons. More light is thrown on this Thomas Blount by Mrs. Watson Winslow in her "History of Perquimans County," page 327; "Thomas," she writes, "third son of Sir Walter Blount, came to America in 1664 and settled in North Carolina in 1673. He married, first, Ann Wilson, and second, Mary Scott. They took up their residence on Kendricks Creek in Washington County, North Carolina."

Thomas Blount, who was born in 1612, and married Ann Wilson about the year 1628, had ten children. His daughter Ann was his sixth child, born in 1640. Thomas died in 1706 and his wife passed away ten years later. In the will of Thomas Blount, published by Grimes, "North Carolina Wills," page 65, Thomas mentioned his married daughter, Ann Wilson. Who was this Mrs. Ann Wilson? From the North Carolina Register, Vol. 3, page 409, we find that this Ann Wilson was the wife of Robert Wilson. This same source informs us that Robert and Ann Wilson had two children: Isaac and Sarah. Isaac married Ann Parker, March 31, 1701, while Sarah, who was born in 1667, married John Belman, August 19, 1687. For proof of this marriage we refer to Hinshaw in his "Quaker Genealogy," Vol. 1, pages 36-85. John Belman, we believe, was born somewhere in North Carolina in 1662 and died in 1706.

John Belman and his wife Sarah were the parents of eight children (Quaker Genealogy, Vol. 1, page 94), only



one of whom, the oldest child Sarah, born June 28, 1688, is of interest to us. She married Ephraim Overman, May 13, 1708, at Symons Creek (Quaker Genealogy, Vol. 1 pages 111, 157). Ephraim was the son of Jacob and Hannah Overman (who came from Germany), born in 1689 at Symons Creek, North Carolina, and died in 1732. Ephraim and Sarah Overman were the parents of seven children, the third of whom was Anne, born August 7, 1714, and married Daniel Chancey, December 7, 1733.

Hinshaw, in his "Quaker Records," pages 135, 157, had mistakingly used the name David instead of Daniel. Daniel's father Edmund in his will makes no mention of a David, but does mention Daniel and his wife Anne. We can safely conclude then that Anne Overman married Daniel and not the non-existent David. Daniel was born in 1706, a son of Edmund Jr. and Sarah Keele Chancey. Sarah Keele was the daughter of Thomas and Mary Keele.

Daniel and Anne Chancey were the parents of four children, two of them are vital in this genealogy. Rachel was born in 1741, while Pleasant was added to the family four years later. Both women became the grandmothers of Hosea Stout. Pleasant married Daniel Smith February 15, 1776, a vital year in our history. Daniel Smith was born in 1743, a son of Thomas and Esther Sawyer Smith. This Thomas Smith was the son of James Jr. and Susanna Bounds Smith. James Smith Sr. married Ann Harris, the daughter of David and Elizabeth Elles Harris. Esther Sawyer, the mother of Daniel, was the daughter of Robert and Frances Sawyer. Returning to Pleasant and Daniel Smith, we find they were the parents of seven children, the second of whom was Anna, born September 8, 1780, the mother of Hosea Stout. In 1797 she married her first cousin, Joseph Stout.

Rachel, the oldest known child of Daniel and Anne Chancey, married Samuel Stout, December 16, 1762 and became the mother of ten children. The fifth child in this group was Joseph, born June 25, 1773, the same person mentioned above who married his cousin. Before we proceed with this genealogy it is well that we make a study of

Joseph Stout's ancestry which carries us back to his fourth great grandfather, John Stout of Nottingham, England.

No progress has been made on the ancestry of John Stout since 1944, but some light on the problem has been shed. Sir Robert Stout, Chief Justice of New Zealand (1899-1926)), claims to know the origin of the Stouts in England. It is his theory that the Scouts were originally Normans who came over with William the Conqueror in 1066 and settled in scattered areas in England and Scotland, but principally in the Shetland Islands. For centuries Fair Isle has been owned and occupied by Stouts. Some of these families were sprinkled in Nottinghamshire and other mid-England counties. Sir Robert himself, was born in the Shetland Islands, September 28, 1844.

All authorities agree that John Stout, a gentleman of Nottingham, was the father of Richard the immigrant to America. It is agreed that Richard married the widow, Penelope, who bore him ten children. The family settled in Middletown, New Jersey, where the Stouts increased very rapidly. John E. Stillwell, who quotes freely from earlier writers, is the final authority on Stout genealogy during the first three generations in America. In his fourth volume, pages 295-330, the genealogy of the family is given.

As nearly as can be determined, Richard and Penelope were married in 1644, and soon thereafter moved to Gravesend on Long Island, where their first eight children were born. The town was organized in 1645 under the authority of the Dutch General Keift. One of the "thirty-nine patentees enumerated was Richard Stout" (Stillwell, page 299). The sixth child and fourth son of Richard was Peter, born about 1654, Stillwell says: "The crowded settlement at Gravesend became too small for Richard's rapidly growing family so he, with other families, made an organized effort to secure a patent for the Monmouth Tract in New Jersey, April 8, 1675: Richard Stout was one of the original twelve patentees of this tract." Peter Stout was eleven years old when this move was made. (Ibid, p. 302).

Peter Stout was only about 16 years old when he married Mary Bullen, the daughter of James. Five years later

(1675) he was granted sixty acres of land at Middletown, where he spent the rest of his life. Stillwell says (page 330) that Peter was "reputed to have been rich, possessed of an excellent disposition, and much respected." He is reputed to have had a large family who settled in Monmouth County, along the seashore. Quoting Richard's will, Stillwell then lists two children of Peter, namely Mary and John Stout. It is very reasonable to conclude that if Peter had a large family he would have more than two children. The failure of Richard's will to mention more than two children does not mean that he did not have more. We have strong evidence which indicates that Peter had at least five children. The will of James Bullen, Peter's father-in-law, says that Mary (Peter's wife) had five children. This will is printed in "New Jersey Wills," Vol. 5. The writer has not been able to verify this fact, but accepts the word of one whose veracity is unquestioned. One of these five children was Samuel Stout, a brother of John, who also accompanied their Uncle Benjamin Stout to Delaware about the year 1708, when Samuel was about 30 years old. Stillwell says, page 330, that a "Samuel Stout, with wife Margaret, bought land on George's Creek in 1720. This proves there was a Samuel Stout living at that time. We shall now prove that he was not the son of John Stout which so many authorities claim he is. William Wade Hinshaw, late of Washington, D. C., one of the greatest Quaker genealogists of our time, and Dr. William Mitchell, an authority on the descendants of Richard Stout, both descendants of Richard and both claim that the Samuel mentioned above was the son of John, who was the son of Peter.

In 1947 the writer discovered that Samuel was not the son of John. Stillwell says, page 330, that this John, son of Peter, who went to Dragon Swamp in 1708, "may be descended from some of the older sons of Richard and Penelope." This statement alone gives little hope for the claim that Samuel was the son of John. A writer in the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 7, pp. 195, 196, says: "This John is doubtless the John Stout of Township of Freehold, County of Monmouth, Providence

of East New Jersey, who on May 18, 1708, purchased land on the North side of Dragon Swamp in Red Lion Hundred, Newcastle County, Delaware. This land he sold in 1726 and his name disappears in the County records." The writer then describes the family of John Stout. His wife's name was Anna, not Sarah at Hinshaw says. He and Anna were members of the old Holy Trinity Swedes Church at Wilmington, Delaware. From the records of this church, pp. 240, 251, and 271, the names of John's children are given: Joseph, born 1716; John, 1718, and Cornelius, 1721. It is important to note that he did not have a son named Samuel. Since these were all the children John had, the document repudiates the tradition that John had a son named Samuel.

Hinshaw, in giving his own ancestry published in the "Compendium of American Genealogy," Vol. 7, page 216, clings to the tradition that John, the son of Peter, was the father of Samuel. Dr. Mitchell also claims in his unpublished manuscript (The Descendents of Richard) that Samuel was the son of John. Assuming that Hinshaw and Mitchell were both right and knowing that Peter the Second was born April 14, 1715, we would have three generations of infant marriages to account for in order to make the record consistent. The reader is left to draw his own conclusions. The writer is forced to the conclusion that Samuel was one of the younger sons of Peter, that he married a lady named Margaret, who bore him a son named Peter, born April 14, 1715.

The second Peter was born at Newcastle, Delaware, married in 1739 to Margaret Cypert, born June 22, 1716, in Germany. Margaret was the daughter of Lawrence and Margaret Cypert, emigrants from Germany. Peter and wife soon moved to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where Samuel and Charles were born. It was this Charles who became the ancestor of William Wade Hinshaw. It was Samuel, the oldest, who married Rachel Chancey, December 16, 1762, and became the ancestor of the Utah Stouts. Peter moved to York County about the year 1743, where five more children were born. In 1762 Peter and all his descendents

moved to Cane Creek, North Carolina, where large bodies of Quakers were then gathering. This Quaker colony did not last more than twenty-five years, due to conflict with the natives over the slavery issue.

Samuel Stout was born April 10, 1740, married Rachel Chancey very soon after his arrival in Cane Creek. This marriage produced a family alliance between the Chanceys, Smiths and Stouts. Two of Daniel Chancey's daughters became the grandmothers of Hosea Stout. Samuel and Rachel Stout became the parents of ten children, the fifth of whom was none other than Joseph, born June 25, 1773, the father of Hosea. This Joseph married his first cousin, Anna Smith, about the year 1797, and for this offense he was excommunicated by his Quaker friends. The Friends opposed the marriage of first cousins. He was also found guilty of taking part in a war, that was also a serious crime in the eyes of the Quakers.

Soon after marriage Joseph and Anna moved into eastern Tennessee, where their first five children were born. In 1805 the family moved to Kentucky, where five more were born. At Pleasant Hill, Mercer County, the family stopped long enough to let Hosea join the transients. At this frontier village our story begins.



## YOUTH

**H**OSEA STOUT, the eighth child in a family of twelve, born September 18, 1810, in the backwoods of Kentucky, was destined to leave this world a better place for having lived in it. His parents named him Hosea believing a modern world had need for philosophers and prophets who could inspire the people to a nobler life.

He was born at a time when his parents were passing through a period of tension, a state of existence which affected him the rest of his days. Joseph and Anna experienced one disaster after another which left them stunned and discouraged.

Near the home of Joseph Stout there was a Shaker Community. These kind people invited Joseph to leave his children at their sanctuary. Sickness and misfortunes forced him to acquiesce to their pleadings. "Accordingly," says Hosea in his journal, "all his children were taken by them. It was in the spring of 1814. My sister Rebecca joined of her own free will and remained with them till she died (1825). She was a firm believer in their faith and doctrine. We (the children) were separated, the boys in groups of their own age, the girls likewise. I had not been there long before I was called on to "confess my sins." Previous to this, I had been allowed to run almost at large, go where I pleased, and make as much noise as I saw proper. This freedom was not allowed to those who were disciplined. They had excellent rules for the government of their children. They were not allowed to fight, quarrel nor have disputations among themselves. At play we were not allowed to make much noise, and keep within prescribed premises. A transgression of these rules was a sin. We had to confess or come under the displeasure of the mistress, who might send us to the bad place. I have sat and trembled while hearing this awful place described. These rules were necessary to keep a large company of boys in proper subordination. At the

time I was called upon to "confess" by a Mr. John Shane, I was playing with some Shaker boys. He asked me if I did not think it was time I confessed my sins. This embarrassed me. I told him I did not know; however, I knew very well what he meant. He then had me confess. I do not recollect what I confessed. I remember he asked if that was all. I told him it was. He then let me go to join my comrades. From this time on I had to confess my sins every night. So strict were we taught to confess the truth that some would get up out of their beds and confess things they had forgotten for fear they might die and the "bad man" would get them. Failure to tell all meant a severe reprimand and sometimes a "moderate flogging." These were the reactions of a four-year-old child, written after he had reached manhood. Life in a charity school was not a rosy one, Hosea knew.

After the death of his sister, Cynthia (1815), Hosea records that he was transferred to an older group of boys, ages 8 to 16, altho he was only five himself. Here he says he had "something to do besides play." Here the boys were taught to braid straw hats. It was astonishing to see the work we did. At work we were seated on long benches, each with his task to do. If any cheated he was sure to be severely punished for his dishonesty. The usual methods of punishment were whipping, stay in the house at play-time and work, or placed in the dark hole. If this prison did not humble us, then horrible stories about the bad man catching us would scare us into submission. I have been almost scared out of my wits while in this dark and dreary place, causing me to make any kind of a promise in order to be liberated."

The brand of psychology used in forcing discipline at work was also employed during school hours. Hosea's description of a Shaker school makes interesting reading: "After we had done braiding we were allowed to go and play awhile and then come in and learn books. It was here that I was first 'taught to shoot.' I learned my letters and how to spell. The times for our lessons, braiding and play, was judiciously arranged. I consider the regulations good

and well adapted to keep a large number of boys in subjection. I have often thought if fathers would adopt some of their rules and mode of discipline, great improvement could be made in their social happiness.

Hosea's first introduction to his younger brother, Allen Joseph, never faded from his memory. On one of her visits to the school, Anna brought Allen for Hosea to see. Later she took Hosea outside to have a talk with him. "I reluctantly went out with her and was in a hurry to go in again lest the boys might think I loved her, for we were taught to spurn paternal affection. I did not yet realize the kind hand of maternal affection that was want to administer to me but deprived of the privilege only in this clandestine way."

Four years of this discipline made Hosea into a full-fledged Shaker. His memories of home life were nearly faded out. The idea of returning was the last wish he could make. When he was informed that his father had arrived to take him home he was stricken with terror. He ran and hid as one would from an unseen monster. One of the attendants dug him out and dragged him over to where his father stood waiting. Joseph then tried to persuade Hosea to go home with him. Hosea doggedly refused. Finally when Joseph realized that arguments were of no avail, he picked up Hosea, sat him on his shoulder, and walked off with him. Hosea screamed, yelled and struggled to get away, but in vain. The noise soon aroused the whole community. His sisters, attendants and students were all screaming, crying and begging Joseph to let Hosea go. Hosea's own sisters were more persistent than all the rest in their pleadings. Joseph stopped to explain to them, then walked away to the tune of a chorus of protests.

When Joseph had gone some distance Hosea began to realize that more resistance was useless, so his thoughts were turned on a plan to make an escape. He noted carefully the country through which he was passing so that he could find his way back to the Shaker school. "At length," Hosea writes, "we passed through a low bottom of sugar maple where a dark gloom overshadowed me, causing such a lonesome feeling that I gave up all hope of escape. I was

afraid to pass through this trackless forest, so my last hope of returning was gone." While at the school he had been taught that the people in the world had nothing to eat, so he believed that he would starve to death before the week was over. Now that escape was impossible, he saw that starvation was inevitable, so in despair he began to weep over his unhappy fate. His father, however, assured him that he would not die, that the family had plenty to eat, but Hosea "did not believe him."

This incident raises the question of method in attaining social justice. Would persuasion and long-suffering by Joseph attain the same objective that physical force accomplished? The writer is convinced that physical force by Joseph in this case was the only justifiable solution. If Hosea had remained in that Shaker den a few more years, his usefulness as a crusader of truth would have been destroyed. His story illustrates the force of propaganda in teaching a false or true philosophy of life. His first week at home shows the influence of a counter propaganda that saved Hosea from complete spiritual disintegration. Hosea's own story is evidence of this truth: "At length we arrived at home, where I met my mother, sister Sarah and brother Allen; all were very glad to see me. But to me, it was no joy, for the fear of starving still lingered within me. I felt more like a condemned criminal than a son returning to the sweet embrace of an affectionate, loving mother. In the afternoon my father and all the family went down to the creek to amuse me by fishing. I thought this a most flagrant violation of the law of God, and, although well amused, was still afraid of the consequences, but comforted myself with the determination to confess all when I returned. This satisfied or lulled my conscience." "After we returned home several of the neighbors came in to see me, all with one accord endeavored to turn me against the Shakers. I was convinced that they were my friends who would neither kill nor starve me to death. I began to think that the Shakers had taught me wrong. I first gave up the idea of confessing my sins, and very soon was converted to the ways of the world. At the end of the day I was fully turned against the Shakers

and would have abhorred the idea of going back." Hosea was now forced to make swift adjustments to an environment quite unfamiliar. Now back to Hosea's story and his thought revolution: "Being now out of reach of Shaker discipline, having no sins to confess, no boys to tell on me, but instead, all willing to hide my mean tricks, I was soon initiated into the rude society of the backwoods. I acted in all cases perfectly free and unconscience bound. There were no fears of the "bad-man." My mother paid strict attention to my education and kept me at my book every day. I was sure to have a lesson to study every time I was caught in mischief." This thought revolution was no doubt a great turning point in the life of Hosea. He was permitted to become a free agent in a world full of sin and virtue. No longer would he be hampered by superstitions that retarded his moral growth. In spite of the false doctrines which were taught Hosea at the Shaker school, he received valuable training in discipline which prepared him for future leadership. Providence ruled his separation in time to preserve him for a higher mission which Shakerism could not have supplied.

During the winter 1818-1819 Ephraim Stout from Missouri visited the family near Pleasant Hill. While there Ephraim induced his brother Joseph to move to Wilmington, Ohio, where Isaac, another brother, lived. In the Spring of 1819 the move was begun. Enroute they stopped at the Shaker school to bid the four daughters goodbye. Hosea met his sisters and old acquaintances who zealously did all they could to induce Hosea to return. Hosea had no difficulty in finding an answer:

"I was now as much adverse to them as I was the worldlings last fall when I was taken away. I even scorned the idea of being called a Shaker boy."

The journey from Pleasant Hill northward was through Lexington, crossed the Ohio at Cincinnati, and ended at a rural area three miles west of Wilmington, Clinton County, Ohio. It was here that Isaac Stout and family lived. Joseph and his family were given a warm welcome: "All ran out to meet us in great joy and excitement, some weeping and some laughing."



Joseph Stout rented a farm near Isaac's home and began preparing the land for planting. Hosea's adjustment to farm life is best described by himself:

"I was put to work picking up and burning brush. This was fine sport at first, but I soon found that it was work which I did not relish quite so much as playing." Joseph proved to be a very intolerant father, not realizing what a child of nine should be able to do. His cruelty to Hosea was never forgiven. This treatment did Hosea a great deal of harm. When the opportunity came he treated those younger with the same degree of inhumanity that he had been treated with. The tendency toward cruelty is like the physical diseases, contagious, the children following the pattern set by their seniors.

In the fall of 1819 the family moved to another farm. Here they found themselves surrounded by Quakers, a religion most of the Stout families belonged to. The growing season of 1820 proved very successful for Joseph and his family. Hosea writes that he and his brother Allen fell victims to a severe siege of mumps that year. In the autumn Hosea was sent to Hiram Madden's school, but difficulties developed so Joseph took Hosea away. In 1821 Joseph and family rented another farm, where a good crop of flax was grown. Hosea writes that the family was partly reunited when Mary and Anna returned from the Shaker school. The year following Margaret joined the family. Rebecca, the oldest child in the family, never returned. She became too wrapped up in Shakerism to let Quakerism appeal to her.

An episode occurred in 1823 which impressed Hosea very strongly. The incident is given emphasis in his journal. Sister Margaret met a man named William Stout, no relation of the family, who made love to her. This unworthy character whose reputation was not the best, obtained Joseph's consent to marriage. Near the marriage date, William proposed that they go to Lebanon for the ceremony, but Joseph objected to this. The couple then eloped, taking Mary with them. This greatly infuriated Joseph, so he took Hosea and started after them. After a twenty-mile race

they caught up with the girls, who were perturbed to learn of the scandal they had caused in the community. After much persuasion Mary was induced to return, but Margaret chose to remain and marry Bill. The ceremony took place June 6, 1823. While the party was enroute home, a man with a load of cider picked them up. Hosea writes that the cider began to ferment and overflow the barrels, so the teamster invited the Stouts to drink to their fill. The reaction on Hosea was unforgettable: "I drank deep and long. Before I got home I was under full soil, beyond the bounds of cares, sorrows, and everything seemed to rejoice." This was Hosea's first experience with intoxicants, but not his last.

Soon after this episode, which may have been the cause, Hosea fell a victim to French measles, which in turn was given to the other children. His illness proved very serious. "It was doubtful," writes Hosea, "whether I would live or die." Recovery from this disease was promptly followed by the spotted measles. Even father Joseph did not escape from this epidemic, which nearly finished him. The disease did prove fatal to Elizabeth, the youngest in the family (July 5, 1823).

This tragedy was the beginning of Joseph's troubles. Bill Stout and Margaret, his wife, returned from Lebanon and planted themselves in the Stout home without lifting a hand to help. Joseph finally was forced to order him to leave the house. Later he deserted Margaret, thus placing more burdens on Joseph.

Anna, the mother in the family, was very sick with consumption during the entire winter of 1823-1824. Her condition continued to weaken till the end, July 28, 1824.

"By her death," writes Hosea, "I lost the only unwavering friend I had. Our family was now left as a ship without a rudder, to be the sport of misfortune. I now fully realized her loss and my own ingratitude and disobedience. The rest of the family remained together a short time; all seemed lost, not knowing what to do. The loss of my mother was a misfortune which reached my heart, causing deep and lasting sorrow."

This motherless boy of fourteen was left to shift for himself. He first worked for John Fallis at 12½ cents per day. Later Fallis' son-in-law, Eli Harvey, took him. The Eli farm was located on the Lebanon road. His task there was to clear the land of dead timber in preparation for farming. Eli Harvey proved an excellent employer, says Hosea. "He was the best man I ever lived with—good, kind, and obliging. He would exact all that I could do and no more. He was a good judge of the amount of work a boy should do. He never misused, reprimanded nor seemed dissatisfied unless I was to blame. I soon loved, obeyed and respected him. What was still more strange, I worked well and became interested in his welfare. I enjoyed myself and felt better and had hopes of a new life. I stayed there till cold weather, then went home, where I again sank back into despondency and gloom, with nothing to stimulate action."

After a period of inactivity Joseph took Hosea to Wilmington to learn a trade. He was placed in the home of Isaiah Morris, clerk of the circuit court. Morris only wanted a chore boy, not an apprentice, so Hosea's dissatisfaction was quite natural. He was treated like a common house servant. "He never allowed me to eat until the family had finished then I came in and picked the bones."

The presidential election of 1824 was held while Hosea was at the home of Isaiah Morris. His reaction to this affair is worth our attention: "I was not allowed to go and see the election, but could hear the oaths and shouts for the candidates usual on such occasions. This yelling was so wild and uncivil as to shock me, for it was the first election I could remember. After dark the boys took to the streets and commenced shouting mostly for Henry Clay. "Hurrah for Clay," "Hurrah for Adams," "Hurrah for Jackson," was ringing all over town. Some of the Morris family wanted me to go and stop the boys. Accordingly I went for I verily thought it was most ridiculous. I did not lecture them long, for one of the boys told me to never mind but to "Hurrah for Clay." This was no sooner said than I also took fire and commenced yelling louder than anyone else. In a

moment all my gravity was gone, for I was the wildest one in the company. So unaccustomed was I to such freaks that once engaged I did not know how to govern myself."

"I was mightily taken up with these town boys, and thought them preferable to my old Quaker comrades. I was anticipating great joy in their society when we could rove in innocent groups uninterrupted by anything to mar our good feelings. In this I was doomed to be disappointed. The first Sunday when I met with the gang, to bask in pleasure, they, according to their custom, had me to break, for they always made a country boy fight before they would acknowledge him as a regular playmate. Accordingly they commenced aggravating me in every way possible. Elihu Millikin and Brooks Griffith were the leaders in the movement, telling me I would be obliged to whip someone before I could have any peace with the boys. Elihu said I was such a coward that I dared not fight. Vexed to desperation, I jumped at him, knocked him down, and before he could recover, kicked him till he cried for mercy. Such was my initiation into the gang. Later, Elihu became a great friend of mine. With all my civil Quaker habits and the disgust with which I first looked on the behavior of these boys, I was soon one of the worst in town, in fact many became ashamed of me, ever reproving me. At night we rambled in droves, stoning houses, abusing people we did not like."

Hosea paid his family a visit and enjoyed himself so much that he decided to pay them a second call. This time, he writes, he was so "full of joy and gratification with the prospect of seeing my brothers and sisters that when near the house I commenced making a noise to draw them out. I was the one who was disappointed, for no one came out, the house was empty. I knew in a moment that they had gone to Cincinnati. It is impossible to describe my feelings. After looking around on the desolation, I commenced weeping most bitterly. It seemed I was the most forsaken being on earth—doomed to eternal loneliness and sorrow. It seemed I could hear the weak voice of my departed mother admonishing me to do better. Every object before me was a witness of a better and happier day. All these things con-

spired to awaken my feelings and sorrow. I wept long and loud. At length I went to the nearest neighbor, who told me they had gone to Cincinnati. I returned to Wilmington and informed the Morris family of what had happened."

Mr. Morris was the last person Hosea could expect sympathy from. The boy satisfied an economic need, after these needs were satisfied there was no room for humanity. The lad was horribly neglected. When his clothes wore out, he could wear Morris' old cast-offs, fit or no fit. "I knew I was not well treated. I had no reason to expect anything—food, clothing or a chance to go to school. I saw I was only intended to be a servant, so I determined in my heart to be of no use to him." Thus his morale was destroyed, so confidence and respect for his employer naturally did not follow. For good reasons, he was very unhappy. As the year 1824 ended, the only consolation was the faint hope "that my father would come and take me away in the spring."

## 1825

This was a crucial year in the life of Hosea for he won his release from the tyrant Morris. This objective required a strange type of strategy to accomplish, but it worked. The tactics used by this young genius in effecting his release is indicative of the future man that was unfolding. Before we proceed with his plans let us more vividly experience his inner life by reading his journal. "Looking for my father kept me in great suspense for months. In the spring I was put to gardening. This occupation suited me very well had I been satisfied with my home and future prospects. I paraded around town, through the countryside and up and down the creeks with other like truants. I was evidently growing worse every day. Sometimes I would go along to the district of my former days and give myself up to weeping in my solitary loneliness. It was there I would resolve to amend my ways and do better, for I was going to ruin. I could not control myself to go straight when in town. I would resolve to join the Methodists sometimes, but did not



know how nor the moral courage to inquire. At other times I would resolve to leave town for a place better calculated to teach me better things, but did not know how to leave Morris. My father had enjoined me to stay, that seemed sacred to me now. Amidst all these feelings I was tossed. In all my wild career I was concerned about religion. Had any of the religious leaders given me a friendly nod they could easily have brought me to the 'anxious seat' to get religion, but who would have thought that of me?"

It was late in the year before Hosea could put his master plan for escape into operation. On one of his visits to his uncle Isaac he picked a quarrel with one of the neighborhood boys. In the presence of his cousins he gave them a specimen of his speech which completely astonished them. As anticipated by Hosea, these children ran to their father and informed him of Hosea's wicked language. Uncle Isaac, being a God-fearing Quaker, complained to Morris. It was plain that Hosea should not be permitted to run the streets uncontrolled and untaught. Not wishing to displease Isaac, Morris agreed to let Hosea go. In triumph, Hosea concludes, that "by doing evil, good came. My outrageous bad language served to awaken my uncle to a sense of duty, thus delivering me from such a place when nothing else could." The lesson had been learned. Justice cannot be taken for granted, it must be fought for even if vile language must be used.

This incident was in December. Hosea went to live with his Uncle Jesse, where he remained the rest of the year. "Here," Hosea says, "I was at once delivered from all bad company, for which I was happy. Jesse was a very civil QUAKER, but would cut firewood on the Sabbath. This I thought most sacrilegious, for it was not allowed in town. I was conscientious about it, bad as I was, so I prepared wood for him on the day before. Such a mixture of religion and devilment!"

1826

Early in the year Hosea accidentally cut his foot (probably while cutting wood on a Saturday evening) thus dis-

abling him for several months. While convalescing he took a notion that he would learn to write. His cousin Isaac, who was a penman, undertook the task of teaching him. By the time he was recovered there was a marked improvement in his writing. Later, his uncle Jesse managed to awaken in Hosea a lively interest in the study of arithmetic. This led him to put his entire energy into the subject. "I resolved to have an education and to that end all my thoughts and intentions were bent."

In April a welcomed visitor came to the home of Jesse Stout. . . . Eli Harvy came to invite Hosea to live with him. The invitation was gladly accepted. "I now felt perfectly restored from all troubles. I had often thought and sighed for the privilege of living with him. For the first time since I left him I put to regular work, and for this privilege I rejoiced. I found I had contracted indolent habits which Eli was well prepared to cure without harsh words or bad feelings." The summer was spent on the Harvey farm. Hosea was faithful to the confidence placed in him and worked diligently in his employer's interest. Hosea attended the Quaker meetings, even considering it a privilege. "All the boys in the neighborhood were civil Quakers, so there was no bad company to find. I felt I was doing some good for myself and hopes began to rise again. I was very attentive to my books and improved every leisure moment I had. Eli always assisted me when needed."

Hosea's description of a Quaker meeting is worth a passing glance: One sits with his hat on, says nothing, no one speaks unless the spirit moves him to. Meetings last about an hour. They "break" or dismiss by the head members shaking hands, then all arise and go out."

The autumn months were spent in Eli Harvey's own school. Hosea's progress was very marked. "Besides improving my handwriting," he writes, "I worked one-third through the arithmetic book. I gave close attention to my studies, not allowing any time for play." At the end of the year he was highly satisfied with his accomplishments. Eli had done well by his pupil, "besides sending me to school for three months, supplying my clothing, he gave me a new

suit of clothes which was entirely ahead of anything I ever had before?" The boy's appreciation for Eli's kindness was expressed twenty-five years later, when he named one of his sons after him.

## 1827

The school term ended in March, after which Eli and Hosea drew up a new contract which allowed Hosea three dollars a month. This included mending, washing, and even a sick leave. Extra jobs meant extra pay. At the end of five months Hosea was a rich man, he had eight dollars in his possession! With this nest-egg he began planning on buying land. The American dollar really had purchasing power in those days.

A visit to Wilmington during the summer and contact with the old gang brought unpleasant memories and stimulated self analysis. Life with the old gang was most repulsive, even to contemplate. Hosea had experienced a moral growth since living in the city and was then living on a higher plane. "I was now a Quaker in my heart, and intended some day to join their society. I was a truly religious boy but no one knew or even imagined that I had such feelings."

In the fall months he was given the opportunity to work for his board and room for David Harvey, a brother of Eli. During school hours he attended Eli's school where, because of his industry, he made rapid progress in his studies.

## 1828

Hard work and no play was the slogan adopted and applied during those short school months. His eagerness for schooling forced him to neglect other essentials in life. By spring he was destitute for clothes. Clad in rags, he remained in school till the term ended. So, self-conscious of his appearance, he remained away from church and other social functions until summer employment enabled him to purchase clothing. He was again employed by Eli, who

paid him twenty-five cents a day. He worked for several others during the summer. In the fall he attended the school taught by George Carter at Lytle's Creek, where he took a six weeks course in English grammar. By applying himself faithfully he acquired some knowledge of grammar.

Steven Stout, a second cousin of Hosea, who was en-route to Illinois, invited Hosea to accompany him west. Hosea agreed on condition that Margaret, his sister, be permitted to go in the same wagon. Stephen accepted the condition so preparations were made for the journey. Eli employed every argument within his powers to induce him to stay, but Hosea was determined, so the journey was begun September 9th. The route led them through Dayton, Indianapolis, and over the Wabash. The grand prairie west of that river was one "boundless ocean of meadows whose scenery was truly grand. I gazed with admiration and delight upon the beautiful scenery until my eyes pained and my head ached." Near the end of September the travelers arrived at the home of Ephraim Stout, at the village called Stout's Grove. The settlement was very beautiful, rich with timber and excellent soil for farming. The village was four miles wide, five miles long, and six miles east of Mackinaw, county seat of Tazewell. Ephraim had been the first settler so the town had taken his name.

Having walked the entire distance as Stephen's cattle tender, Hosea was completely fatigued on reaching the settlement. A few days of rest, however, was all he needed to start him in search for his family. At Dillens, a town 20 miles away, he found Allen and Anna. Allen, who had not seen Hosea for four years, didn't recognize him at first. After introductions, however, a happy reunion followed. A few days later, while returning to Stout's Grove with Anna, Hosea took sick, and might have died had it not been for the tender care given him by Anna. She managed to take him to Mackinaw, where he was kindly treated till he recovered.

Having recuperated he started working for his cousin, Ephraim Stout, as a harvest hand. He was paid ten dollars a month, "which," says Hosea, "was the most I ever got. It was as much as my conscience would allow." When the

harvesting was completed at Ephraim's, Hosea spent the rest of the year working for other farmers in the area.

## 1829

Hosea spent a few weeks in Jesse Stout's school during the middle of the winter. It was during this period (February 28), that his sister Margaret died. At the end of the school term he began working for James Watson, a farmer, who paid him fifty cents a day for plowing out in the prairie. "After several weeks," he says, "I was able to pay for my coat, which was the first personal property I ever owned."

Religion played a predominant role in Hosea's thoughts during that year. His journal is a narration of an inner religious struggle between the fundamental conception of religion and the modern viewpoint. This controversy is best expressed in Hosea's own words: "My relations all believed in the Quaker tenets of religion. Those in Stout's Grove took a notion to have Quaker meetings every Sunday. It was the request of the most faithful that I attend regularly to influence the rest of the young people to attend. I consented for I was as Quakerist as ever in my feelings. We had several old-fashioned Quaker meetings whose fame spread and attracted the youth from other churches. These young people would wink and laugh and inquire if the spirit moved them. This I did not like, for some of them were professors of religion. I did not like this brand of persecution. Until this time the inhabitants of the Grove had been friendly and united, but now the Quakers began to manifest a narrow, bigoted feeling toward the rest. These passions grew until open hostilities broke out in the community. In retaliation the Methodists and Presbyterians also began holding meetings. Anna, who was a Methodist, soon induced Allen and I to attend. I had no religious motive for going, but when I did, my relatives showed great dissatisfaction and chagrin. They insulted and made slanderous insinuations about them which forced me to defend them. Ephraim warned me to either attend the Quaker meetings or stay away from his home. When I saw that he intended to prescribe my religious opinions, I began to de-



spise him in my heart. He was afraid I would lead his brothers and sisters away from Quakerism. This was the beginning of a prejudice between us that has never been overcome."

Late in the spring Archibald Johnson, a Presbyterian, came into the community and agreed to teach school one year. Hosea says he was honest but bigoted, was very zealous but a poor speaker. Hosea spent most of the year in his school.

He admitted that his handwriting improved and he made progress in grammar and arithmetic. "Johnson was a good scholar," says Hosea, "but when I quit I was as good a scholar as he." This still leaves us in the dark, for we do not know how well Johnson was!

During these months of scholastic progress, Allen Joseph Stout, the fourteen-year-old brother of Hosea, was in distress at the home of Ephraim Stout, where he was rudely mistreated. Realizing Allen's predicament, Hosea went to Ephraim's house and took Allen away. He put him in the Watson home and sent him to the Johnson school. This action infuriated Ephraim, whom Hosea called a "cunning cold-tongued snake in the grass." In revenge Ephraim applied to the county commissioners to have a guardian appointed for Allen, the purpose being to deny Hosea any influence over Allen. When Hosea learned of this conspiracy, "my wrath rose beyond endurance." Striking with lightning speed, Hosea induced the court to appoint Watson the guardian for Allen. "Thus we thwarted Ephraim's plot to take Allen away from us. Henceforth I detested Uncle Ephraim, for he was doing all he could to break us down."

1829 was a critical year for Hosea. Religion had taken a deep root in his life. The crusading spirit was set on fire during a Methodist revival at Dillens settlement. "I was introduced to the preachers, all of whom seemed friendly and took great notice of me. I was now in the Methodist stream and was buoyed along on the tide. I attended very strictly to their teachings, was wonderfully wrought up which sent me to the 'anxious seat' to be prayed for. At the end of the meetings, all my schoolmates and I joined the

Methodists on a six months trial." This decision gave the Ephraims cause for alarm, but Hosea paid no attention to their warnings and fought more determinedly to spread the Methodist fire. This fire continued to burn in his soul, but altho very zealous, he "could not get the power. I soon discovered a hostile spirit between the Methodists and Cumberlands which I thought very uncalled for. It threw me much in the background to hear preachers slander each other because of a small difference of opinion in non-essentials!" At the end of the year Hosea and Allen were still working for Watson. The latter "caught" religion at one of the camp meetings, so his companionship with Hosea was more cordial.

## 1830

This, the most memorable year in religion since the resurrection of Jesus, was also important for Hosea. Altho hundreds of miles from the place where the true church was being organized, he caught the spirit of the new movement by his dogged determination to seek out the truth and discard the errors which he felt were destroying the churches. As he reaches maturity his thoughts and actions take on a more serious slant. He sensed the errors in the dogmas of his day, but could not prove their falsity. To him the Methodists appeared to be nearer the truth so he held to their tenets, hoping that some day more rational doctrines could be found.

His employment was as unsettled as his convictions. He worked for Watson until spring, then tried to find work at Dillens settlement. In this he was disappointed, so he returned to Stout's Grove. Later he was employed by Morris Phelps, where he worked for two months. While there he attended some Methodist camp meetings at Dillens with the Phelps. Morris was a Methodist apostate, while his wife was strong in the faith. While working at the Phelps home he met a young man whose destiny was to be parallel with his own. His name was Charles C. Rich. Hosea's first impression of Charles is worth a passing glance: "Charles was then an uncommon, steady, honest man, but

made no pretensions to religion. I soon had a great regard and attachment for him."

While at the Phelps home Hosea bumped into the temperance movement. His reaction to this agitation should be interesting to students of psychology: "The excitement began when Neil Johnson called a meeting to organize a temperance society. "He was a most eloquent speaker who spoke long and loud against the practice of drinking. I was quickly converted by his strong arguments. After the meeting he called for volunteers to join the society. Fifteen of us joined the movement. Drinking to excess was something I never had a temptation for. I joined the society to reform from drinking, resolving to never taste it again. What an absurdity, I thought, when all was over. I wanted a drink but firm in my determination not to drink. That night I dreamed a man handed me a bottle of whiskey which I drank from freely. The next morning I still wanted some and continued to crave it for days. During that period I was offered some but refused it. It did look foolish to quit a habit which I had never begun."

Later in the summer, while working for James Hittle near Mackinaw, he came face to face with the whiskey problem. All the men at the sawmill where he worked were drinkers. Mr. Hittle supplied his men with plenty to eat and whiskey to drink, for which I was duly taunted by the men. The temperance society allowed a man to use whiskey as medicine, so one morning I took a jug and called all to witness that I took it as medicine. They all shouted their applause. Henceforth I used it as I thought proper, never being priest-bound on the subject. This ended my temperance career.

At the beginning of the autumn season Hosea returned to Stout's Grove, where he again worked for Mr. Watson as a harvest hand. After a few weeks he suffered greatly by a fever which weakened and enfeebled him. Later the fever was succeeded by a chill. His sister came and cared for him. A second relapse "came near using me up," says Hosea, "for I was now unable to walk." He was taken to Dillens settlement, where he spent the balance of the year

very sick. He was pushed from one home to another, often unwelcomed, "and knew it but I could not get away. Who knows the disagreeable feeling of such a condition except those who have experienced it? I will mention one man, Mr. William Eads, who seemed to express the warmest friendship towards me while sick. He treated me well during my greatest afflictions and deepest distress when a friend is most needed.' The year 1830 was one of great despondency and distress, but he met the test victoriously, emerging stronger and more tolerant towards the suffering of others.

## 1831

It was late spring before Hosea was sufficiently recovered from his illness that he could seek employment. With this object in mind, he went to Stout's Grove where, while visiting relatives, he was struck down by his old enemy, the chill and fever which laid him low for a season. Kind friends tenderly cared for him, eventually restoring him to health. While recuperating he attended a school taught by a Mr. Porter. "There," says Hosea, "I finished my education.' By the end of the summer he felt able to work again. He started working for Mr. Watson, but before the first day was over a fever struck a severe blow, sending him to bed for a long season. "I was now entirely disheartened and despaired of ever being able to support myself. During this sickness my friends took good care of me and rendered my situation as comfortable as possible. When autumn rolled around Hosea was nearly recovered and was aching to work again. "Bright hopes arose and I began to form schemes to acquire property and make a respectable living. I was cheerful and happy, but my joy was again to be turned into sorrow and despair, for I was again taken down with a chill. For three days I was perfectly delirious, the neighbors gave me up to die!" So another year of disappointments ended for Hosea.

1832

Recovery from this disease was very rapid, altho it left him very weak and helpless. He calls that illness the worst he ever had. It left him little hope for ever being able to labor for a living. "My friends now advised me to take up a school, which they said would spare my health. This I concluded to do as a last and forlorn hope of respectability. Moreover I was now destitute and could not make a respectable appearance! By clever trading, however, he managed to equip himself with a few necessities and started out to conquer the world with only fourteen dollars in his pocket. He was now in his twenty-second year, a full-fledged adult, and fully prepared for the battle of life.



## RENAISSANCE

**I**LLY MATURED, physically as well as mentally, Hosea was prepared to meet and conquer the great religious revolution which was then sweeping the land. Little did he realize at that time what a powerful influence the new religion would have on him. In the spring of 1832, Hosea had heard nothing of this new religion. He was concerned with his own survival. The problem of persuading the people in the community that a school was vital to the welfare of the children was his first concern. He failed, both at Stout's Grove and at Dillen to interest the people in a school. After these failures, he felt "totally abandoned to eternal disappointment, poverty and disgrace. I sat down and wept bitterly. I felt that my life was only the sport of misfortune and sorrow. After giving vent to my feelings, I determined to leave the country of my misfortune and throw myself into the midst of strangers, to see if a change of fortune would follow, knowing it could not be worse. But where to go, I knew not."

In this melancholy mood, he wrote a letter to his sister Anna, dated April 5, 1832.

Dear Sister:

This is to let you know the situation I am in. I have tried to get a school in this settlement, but failed. What I shall do next, I know not. It seems misfortune comes whenever I attempt to make an honest and respectable living. If I cannot make an honest living, I am resolved not to live at all. I hope that Heaven may direct me in the way that I should go. I am resolved to live respectably if I do live. I am now in the prairie, not knowing where to go. I hope you will not be disheartened if I leave the country. If I stay here, I can make nothing. I will go wherever I think I can do the best, will write when I stop. If I stay here, I am plagued with sickness and poverty. I do not see how

much worse off I can be anywhere else. If I labor, sickness is sure to follow. If I try any other way to make a livelihood, I am attended with disappointment, which is worse than sickness. What shall I do? I feel like a poor outcast, no friend or counsel to assist me. May the Lord guide my steps in the right way and direct me as He sees fit. Where I shall see you, I know not, but do the best you can till then. The day may come when prosperity will be in my favor and I shall enjoy life and peace better than I do now. No more.

*Your affectionate brother,*

HOSEA STOUT

This letter expresses so well his philosophy of life and his moral code that comment is unnecessary. Pursuant to his announced plan, he went to the Ox-bow Prairie, where he proceeded to organize a school. By winning the approval of Asahel Hannun, an educational leader in the community, a small school was begun. After a few weeks, the Black Hawk war broke out, so all schools in the county were suspended. Major Stillman's defeat caused considerable excitement and caused the closing of all business houses and a general paralysis of trade in Putnam County.

"We were called on to defend ourselves. One company was raised to patrol the country, which assured us some peace. Until now, I was never near the war to know what effect it would have on me. I had often heard its horrors portrayed, and its demoralizing effects on soldiers, all of which I wanted to escape. I was anxious to know how I might make my election sure, knowing my weakness in resisting evil. I feared the demoralizing effect of a campaign, even if I should escape being scalped. These things caused me deep trouble, which, however, I concealed from others. I felt deeply the need for rallying to the aid of my country and of defending it at the risk of my life. I did not suspect our rulers of intrigue, so I joined the Rangers in good faith, hoping I might meet the enemy soon. Such is the effect of martial music and war-like speeches on the mind of man."

Hosea took an active part in the army maneuvers which led to the battle of Bad Axe (August 1, 2, 1832), where the Indians were completely demoralized and disorganized.

Much to his surprise, war had no horrors nor demoralizing effects, but instead, the "new life suited me well, for my health improved and my strength returned. Some of the men were so terrified they would not stand guard, others abandoned the fort and rushed for safety. People were not so patriotic as they appeared."

The war ended, Hosea returned to the Ox-Bow country, where he organized another school. This session lasted three months. When this school terminated in December, Hosea returned to the Dillen settlement to visit his sisters, Anna and Lydia. While on this visit, a revolution took place in his religious thinking. His spiritual concepts were destroyed, making it necessary to build a new philosophy of life. His own story is most convincing:

"Upon arriving, I learned that Anna was married to a Mormon widower, who had five children. This perfectly astonished me. I felt like going to see her for the purpose of telling her my mind, then leaving forever. I considered it a disgrace beyond endurance to be in any way connected with the Mormons, and a widower, too. I had heard of the Gold Bible, fortification of Jackson County, and the usual slang then going around. I did not doubt its truth. I thought deeply, all that night, intending to see her for the last time tomorrow. My agitation of mind was intense. On my way, the next day, I came to the more sober conclusion not to unbosom my feelings, for, as she was now fairly into a scrape, not to irritate her feelings, but let her enjoy herself if she could. Upon entering the house, I was introduced to Mr. Jones, who seemed glad to see me. He was a pleasant, clever man against whom I could find no fault. If he had not been a Mormon I would have been well enough pleased, but the stigma of the name depressed me, while at the same time I was forced to put on a cheerful countenance. The subject of religions was not mentioned, but I was anxious to investigate it. I stayed at the Jones home for several days, during which time I saw Charles C. Rich, who was now a Mormon Elder (baptized April 1, 1832). We spent several days together comparing our religious tenets. We passed over our differences of belief, referring our opinions, wher-

ever we differed, to the Bible. In all cases, our investigation resulted in the loss of my position, while he always sustained his on the fairest possible terms. The perplexity into which this threw me can only be realized by those who have been through the same thing. I saw plainly that my positions were wrong, and that Mormonism was true.

"All my plans and calculations, both spiritually and temporally, were now futile. The agitation of my mind was intense. I did not know what to do. I could not forgo the idea of joining the church, for aside from the disgrace that would follow, I was fearful lest I should not live up to its precepts as I did with the Methodists. I wanted confidence in myself."

Hosea remained in Dillen's settlement until he had made a thorough study of Mormonism. He made his acquaintance with several members of the faith, whose society he enjoyed. Believing he was fully conversant with the doctrines of the church, he returned to Stout's Grove and there commenced preaching the gospel to his relatives, although he did not profess to believe it himself. He not only astonished those who knew him well, but even himself, for "I saw with what ease and fluency I could confute anyone who would oppose me. This raised considerable excitement in the Grove. Emboldened by my success, I soon attracted even the ministers, who, I believe, did not understand the scriptures."

Whenever Hosea ran into difficulties on doctrine, he would return to Dillen to interview Jones, where he always received new inspiration and new ideas to use in his proselyting. The year 1832 ended, leaving Hosea in a state of indecision. He was convinced that Mormonism had all the answers, but did not have the courage to translate his convictions into works. Such decisions were slow in ripening.

### 1833

Early in the year, Hosea organized a school at Stout's Grove, which lasted about three months. This session proved very successful. During the summer months he

divided him time between helping Joseph Phillips on his farm and the study of Mormonism. There were only a few members of the church in Tazewell County, but from these few he absorbed many ideas which assured growth. After the harvest season he went to Farm Creek, where he and Benjamin Jones purchased a sawmill (September 2). This adventure was nullified largely, by an attack from his old enemy, fever, causing a loss of several weeks. In November there appeared in the heavens a meteoric shower which was "magnificent and grand." It was hailed as one of the signs of the last days. It occurred at the very time the saints were being driven out of Jackson County.

The mill business required much time and effort during the winter months. The logs were prepared during the winter for the spring demand for lumber. After those long days at the mill Hosea eagerly attended the cottage meetings held by the saints, where church doctrines were taught and argued. He "became intimate with the doctrines they professed and devotedly believed them. But I must confess I was afraid to join them, and, by holding out, made my situation worse. It is difficult for me to record the fluctuating feelings I had to encounter between Mormonism and the popular sects of the day. Everyone who has embraced Mormonism has, I suppose, experienced the same thing." These reflections were made at the end of the year, after he had been studying Mormonism very thoroughly. Still he was in a state of indecision, paralyzed by the fear that his baptism might be mis-interpreted by his friends.

### 1834

The sawmill prospered during the spring and summer, making Hosea feel complacent for the first time in his life. During the summer Zion's Camp passed through Illinois. Hosea's reaction to this movement is worth recording:

"This summer Zion's Camp marched up to Missouri to retake Jackson County under Joseph Smith, the Prophet. They camped here several days, during which time they preached several times. The effect of their preaching was powerful on me. When I considered that they were going



to Zion to fight for their lost inheritance under the special direction of God, it was all that I could do to refrain from going. Jones and I gave them a yoke of oxen. Elder Charles C. Rich went with them. Hosea remained behind to continue his fight against Satan. His adversary succeeded in preventing a decision that year.

## 1835

As in the previous year, the winter months were spent in preparing the logs for spring sawing, when the market for lumber was greatest. The Peoria market was unusually good that season, making it necessary to employ seven more men. The diary ends at this point, and does not resume until October 1844. In the interim we are dependant on his Life Story, which he wrote for the Seventy's Quorum in 1845, and other Church History sources. It is easy to conclude, however, that Hosea's struggle against his conscience did not end in 1835, 1836, or 1837. It was the Devil's persecution against the Saints in 1838 that forced a decision.

## 1836-1844

The JonesStout alliance continued until the autumn of 1836, when the mill was sold. The two men then went to Wesley, Tazewell County, on the Illinois river, and engaged in carpenter work. In the autumn of 1837 when his father and brother, Allen Joseph, returned from Missouri, he undertook the responsibility of teaching them the gospel. He found his brother Allen very receptive to the Gospel message; his father, however, was much more skeptical. Benjamin Jones decided to move to Far West, in Missouri, so he could be with the Saints. His enthusiasm to gather with the Saints proved to be very contagious. Allen and father Joseph joined the Jones in the journey to Missouri. Later Hosea caught the spirit and joined the Saints at Far West.

In Far West, Hosea purchased some land so he and Allen began preparing the land for planting. While thus employed he became acquainted with the Benjamin Peck family. His wife, whose maiden name was Phoebe Crosby,

had previously married Joseph Knight. After Knight's death, she married Benjamin Peck about the year 1819. From this union five children were born, the second was Samantha, born in 1821, and the fourth was Sarah, born in 1825, who later married Charles C. Rich (1846), as his fourth wife. We are more interested in Samantha, for it was she who married Hosea, January 7, 1838. It is these marriages that help to explain the close friendly ties between Hosea and Charles which were to continue for the next fifty years.

The first eight months in 1838 at Far West were crowded with excitement, persecutions, excommunications, all of which tested the faith of the strongest Mormon. Eighteen days after the mob attack at Gallatin, Hosea asked Charles C. Rich to baptize him. It was the injustice of these mad attacks that convinced Hosea to take the final step (August 24). Henceforth the biography of Hosea Stout is also the History of the Church. He took an active part in all the major events of the Latter-day Kingdom, and became its great champion.

After the baptism of Hosea, the atmosphere darkened. Satan and his earthly henchmen realized that they were losing in the battle against truth. In defense the entire kingdom of the evil one was turned loose on the Saints. The Saints were brutally driven from DeWitt. Falsehoods were manufactured by the devil's clergy to excite the population against the Saints. Acts of self defense were construed by the mob as treason against the government. The real trouble began at Log Creek, where Captain David W. Patten was sent out with seventy-five men to recapture the men. Parley P. Pratt has written an excellent description of this expedition, but it now remains for Hosea to give another story of this battle:

"When we had come near this place where it was supposed the mob was encamped, the company dismounted and left their horses fastened to the fence. The company then divided into two companies, one under Patten, the other under Charles C. Rich. They then proceeded toward Crooked River, in search of Bogart's company. We did not

proceed far when we were hailed by someone from behind a tree. A few words passed, then the man fired, killing O'Banion. The brethren pushed forward, being unaware of O'Banion's wound. In a few minutes we were fired upon by Bogart's whole company, who were within a few yards of us. Patten ordered a charge, which was made instantly; a severe and bloody conflict ensued, which lasted but a few minutes. The brethren rushed into their midst, sword in hand, and put to death every one who came in their way. All of Bogart's company who did not run away were killed in a few minutes. The mob had to make the retreat by running through Crooked River in water waist deep. Before they could get across, many a mobber was baptized without faith or repentance, under the lead sent by the guns of the brethren. The mob fled in every direction, reporting as they went that they had been attacked by the Mormons. They created great excitement throughout the country. Governor Boggs issued his order, exterminating or driving the Mormons from the state. The order made a demand for all those in the battle of Crooked River to be tried for murder. Ten thousand men were to be raised by the Governor's order to put his exterminating order into execution and arrest those who had been in the battle.

"October 28 General Lucas, with two thousand men, encamped near Far West and demanded the leaders of the church. He warned that if this demand was refused he would sack and pillage the city. After several communications between the parties, President Smith, Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, and George W. Robinson were delivered into the hands of the mob through the treacherous influence of George M. Hinkle (the man who had baptized Charles C. Rich into the church). Resistance was now too late, all who had been in the battle of Crooked River plainly saw what they had to expect. There was no alternative for them but to escape, or fall into the hands of their enemies, who had sworn their destruction. Consequently, on the night following (November 1), twenty-seven of us made our escape, about midnight, and proceeded north, crossing Grand River at dawn." The group continued northward for eleven days, finally reaching the

rapids of the Des Moines. Hosea's narrative is very brief, so we shall turn to the biography of Charles C. Rich by John Henry Evans, pages 57-59, to learn the full details of this episode:

"One course was open—he (Charles) could flee the state. That would doubtless be difficult on account of his great height, which made him easily recognizable. After consulting with the church authorities and some other friends, he decided to make his escape from the town as soon as possible.

"Accordingly he and his old friend, Hosea Stout, with their wives, met at the home of Rich's sister, whose husband kept a store opposite the public square. It was midnight in early November. Mrs. Stout was ill of a lingering illness, and Mrs. Rich was about to become a mother. The two men were to leave together; the two women to remain until means could be found by which they might escape. . . . Rich and Stout made a solemn covenant that they would stay together until the four met again somewhere; the women also vowed not to separate until they were reunited with their husbands. This done, the men took leave as secretly as they could. . . .

"It was not until February 3, 1839, that the two women had an opportunity to leave Missouri, with their people. This was when Mrs. Rich's father arrived. All the property which they were able to take with them they put into two wagons. Two hundred miles over frozen ground, in the coldest and stormiest weather, that was the lot of these sick women. (Allen Joseph Stout was the driver of one of these wagons). As a result of these hardships, Mrs. Rich was in feeble health for more than a year, and Mrs. Stout did not survive a twelvemonth.

"When they reached the Mississippi, they found there many of their co-religionists, waiting for an opportunity to cross the river. The only means available was a canoe in which they went part of the way; the rest of the distance they walked on the ice-floes. George D. Grant, who undertook to go across to inform the husbands of their wives'

arrival, was nearly drowned, and had to be rescued by men on the Illinois side. As luck would have it, his rescuers were Rich and Stout. In a little while the women were united with their husbands — the compact had been kept, though at no small sacrifice."

Hosea's brief account of the journey to Quincy by the twenty-seven men is descriptive of the hardships and sufferings endured by the party. Most of the journey was made in snow and very cold weather. Many of the men were thinly dressed, so their sufferings were greatly increased. Their provisions soon gave out. Seldom could they procure wild game. A paragraph from the life of Charles by Evans, gives additional light on this journey:

"Each of them had but one mount, and so could take only a few provisions for the journey. Their destination was Quincy, a distance of about two hundred miles; their route lay through a wilderness of trees and underbrush; and in November storms they lost their way. To make matters worse they ran out of food. During the five days when they were seeking their bearings, Rich's group of six had only a blackbird to eat, which one of them had taken on the wing. In their meanderings, however, they fell in with some Indians who guided them to their destination."

The reunion with his wife was a great day in the life of Hosea. He was then in a position to make plans for the future. In April, 1839, the family moved to Payson, a small settlement fourteen miles from Quincy, where Hosea found employment as a carpenter. Four months later the family moved to Lee County, Iowa, where they remained until the spring of 1840. Meanwhile, the physical condition of Samatha continued to weaken. Exposure and sickness during her hasty exit from Missouri had adversely affected her health, which was already declining. The end came November 29, 1839. This was a severe blow for Hosea, for, judging by the number of times he referred to her in his diary in later years, she meant a great deal to him.

Meanwhile, Hosea and his brother attended the General Conference of the Church in Nauvoo, where both were ordained Elders (October 5). Both of these men had won recognition by their faithfulness and patriotism, during a

period of trial and persecution when even some of the church leaders failed to meet the test. On the very day Samantha died, Hosea added his name to a petition to Congress memorializing that body for redress for losses and claims suffered in Missouri. Hosea put in a claim for \$2720 for lands purchased in 1837. This claim was the only satisfaction he ever received for his losses.

In March 1840 Hosea moved to Nauvoo, where he remained until forced out six years later. March 8 he was appointed clerk of the High Council, a position he held almost constantly for years to come. He took an active interest in Nauvoo's civil and military affairs. May 16, 1840, he was chosen second lieutenant in the 59th Regiment, Illinois Militia.

Exactly one year after the death of Samantha, he married Louisa Taylor (November 29, 1840), daughter of William and Elizabeth Patrick Taylor. Louisa was born October 19, 1819, in Kentucky. She proved to be a devoted wife and a faithful companion during the few years left for her existence.

When the Nauvoo Legion was organized, February 4, 1841, Hosea was named a First Lieutenant, sixteen days later he was promoted to Captain. Little is known of Hosea's activities during these times of stress, but judging by the Prophet's own Journal for June 6, 1841, Hosea was not idle. The Prophet writes:

"News of my arrest having arrived in Nauvoo last night, Hosea Stout and six others started from Nauvoo, arrived in Quincy at dusk; went to Benjamin Jones' house and found that I had gone to Nauvoo in charge of two officers."

Audacity for the cause of the Prophet served to strengthen his zeal for the spread of truth. He was justly rewarded for his energy by another promotion to the rank of Major, September 4, 1841. This was followed by another promotion of greater importance on December 20, 1841, when he was given the rank of father. Lydia Sarah arrived that day to be the first of nineteen children. This child lived less than eleven months, the end came November 13, 1842. This left Hosea childless for a five month period, when his first son



arrived (April 16, 1843), whom he named William Hosea Stout, and whose earthly existence was also limited.

Diligence and faithfulness in the execution of his duties won for him the rank of Colonel, June 23, 1843. He belonged to the Second Cohort, Fifth Regiment; other officers of the same unit were Theodore Turley, Lieutenant Colonel, and Jesse D. Hunter, Major. One of the principal objectives of the Legion was the protection of the Prophet. Only two days after the organization of the Fifth Regiment, the opportunity to exercise this protection was offered. On that same day (June 23) the Prophet was arrested and brutally treated by Sheriff Reynolds, who took him to Ottawa. News of this kidnapping reached Nauvoo two days later. Immediately Hosea and Charles recruited a posse of twenty-four men and went in pursuit. They spent seven days and traveled over five hundred miles in a desperate attempt to find the Prophet. Failing in their efforts, they returned to Nauvoo July 3, only to find the Prophet had safely returned four days earlier.

From the Prophet's own journal we find another item revealing the services of Hosea during those stormy days:

"A petition (September 11) was presented to me as Lieutenant General, to devise means to get the public arms of the state for the Legion; whereupon I appointed W. W. Phelps, Henry Miller, and Hosea Stout, a committee to wait on Governor Ford on the subject." The execution of this mission probably necessitated a trip to Springfield.

December 7, 1843, the Journal History of the Church throws additional light on Hosea's importance during that critical period:

"At a mass meeting of citizens at Nauvoo, a committee of three, namely W. W. Phelps, Reynolds Cahoon, and Hosea Stout, were appointed to draft a preamble and resolution expressive of the sentiments of the people of Nauvoo relative to the repeated unlawful demands by the State of Missouri for the body of General Joseph Smith, as well as the common, cruel practice of kidnapping citizens of Illinois and forcing them across the Mississippi River and then incarcerating them in the dungeons of prisons in Missouri.

This committee wrote a worthy document, descriptive of the sentiments of the people of Nauvoo."

The crucial year (1844) was ushered in with a bang when the Prophet was nominated for President of the United States (January 29). In retaliation, the emissaries of the Devil held (February 17) a convention at Carthage, where methods for expelling the Mormons from the State were considered. The handwriting on the wall was plain, so on February 20, Joseph Smith instructed the Twelve to appoint a delegation to search the west for a suitable home for the Saints. Accordingly, seventeen men were selected to go. Under date of February 27, the Prophet writes in his journal: "Almon F. Fullmer and Hosea Stout volunteered to go on the western exploring expedition." Due to rising tensions this expedition was never carried out.

May 9, 1844, the Journal History records that Hosea took part in the court martial of Major General Wilson Law, where the charges against him were sustained.

Events at Nauvoo moved to a climax on June 18, when the city was placed under martial law, and the Legion was ordered out to protect the city and preserve peace. Hosea was present to hear the Prophet deliver his last public address. On that occasion a portion of the Warsaw Signal was read, in which all citizens were urged to assist the mob in driving out the Saints. During the crisis, Hosea served as an acting Brigadier General. When the bodies of the martyrs arrived in Nauvoo, Hosea stood at the head of his Cohort as guards of the fallen heroes. Unfortunately, he left no written account of this great event.

From this incident until he resumes his diary in October, the only event which concerns the Stout family is the birth of a third child, Hyrum Stout, July 4, 1844. It is not difficult to understand why the child was named Hyrum.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR NAUVOO

THE RENAISSANCE was complete. Hosea was now a fighting Mormon. Persecutions, sufferings, and the martyrdom of the Prophet were the factors which severed the ties between Hosea and the sectarian world. It was plain why the church was persecuted. The struggle was between truth and error. The struggle for Nauvoo was only a small phase of a mighty contest between the forces of evil and the Kingdom of God. Hosea chose to fight on the side of righteousness.

A new chapter begins for Hosea, October 4, 1844, when he resumes the writing of his diary. He first mentions his ordination to the office of Seventy by Benjamin L. Clapp. Four days later he was chosen as President of the Eleventh Quorum of Seventy and ordained to that office by President Brigham Young. The Church President then instructed the members on their duties, both as individuals and as a quorum. The diary confirms the fact that he was a member of the Nauvoo Police force, a position he had held several years. Henceforth his writings are influenced by his position as a peace officer.

The trial of the men accused of riot for executing the orders of the Mayor to destroy the "Nauvoo Expositor," which had been declared a nuisance by the City Council, began to threaten the peace of the community. General Charles C. Rich ordered Hosea to raise 100 men to act as a protective body for those who were being tried. At this stage of the crisis, the Nauvoo Legion received a "letter from the Governor authorizing the Lieutenant General of the Legion to call out the Legion to protect the Court at Carthage and suppress all mobs." Hosea writes under date of October 24, that the "mob was gathering at Carthage very fast for the purpose of depriving the brethren of a fair trial, or permitting the Grand Jury from hearing testimony against those who had assassinated Joseph and Hyrum. These men had

sworn that they would murder anyone who dared to appear against them. They had sought to take the life of one Daniels who was present at the time the murder was committed.”

The officials of the Legion decided to make every preparation to meet this situation. Hosea was accordingly instructed to choose 30 men to guard the witnesses at Carthage. Later this number was cut to four. Hosea was assigned other duties, so he did not accompany this guard to Carthage.

While tensions were at the boiling point, Hosea attended a Rigdonite anti-Mormon meeting. The speaker at this meeting was one Forgress, who contended that Joseph Smith was a fallen Prophet—a final attempt to resurrect the succession movement. After his speech, a spokesman for the church arose, his name Early, who completely refuted the arguments of the apostate by merely quoting Rigdon's own words. The debate ended, Hosea believed, in total defeat for Forgress and the triumph of truth.

The Presidential election of 1844 was a period of reflection for Hosea. Members of the church had individually decided to vote for Polk, since he was the lesser of two evils, for he had remained silent toward the murder of Joseph Smith. Hosea's reactions toward the election were depressive. Said he:

“It was with peculiar feelings that I went to the polls. I thought of the man whom we had nominated as the man of our choice for President of the United States; our beloved Prophet, Joseph Smith, whose voice seemed yet to sound in the air, teaching the nation the way they might be saved and the means to pursue to avoid a dis-union and the overthrow of our government. I well remembered the never-to-be-forgotten 27th of June, 1844, when he fell a sacrifice to the violence of a mob while the constituted authorities of this state had been pledged for his protection. His blood is now to be seen on the floor of the jail at Carthage, where it cries to God for vengeance on this nation who rejoice at his fall. It is no wonder then, that it was with little confidence that I took part in the election.” It is unfortunate for us that Hosea made no comment on the results of the election.

Politics and apostates were the principal concern of Hosea. The latter were considered dangerous to the safety of the new Prophet. As a member of the police force, he was constantly on the alert to protect the lives of those high in the church. Many times it was necessary to patrol the streets till two in the morning, then stand guard at the home of Brigham till sun-up. His willingness to make these sacrifices is ample proof of his testimony and faith in the new movement. The pressure exerted by the church enemies is illustrated by the action taken by the Council, November 11, 1844, when the general welfare of the city was under consideration. It was there agreed that the Trustee-in-Trust for the church should pay the police all that was due them from the city, and that four hundred more policemen be appointed to guard the city, if necessary. This indicates that tensions were at an all-time high as the old year faded away.

## 1845

Hosea's comment on the new year is historic: "May God grant that it may not prove as ominous to the Saints as the one just gone." On the first Sunday in the new year Brigham Young made a speech in which he forecast greater evils and painted a dismal picture of social conditions in Nauvoo. Said he, as quoted by Hosea:

"It is necessary to have more order and more progress against iniquity, admonishing the brethren to raise up enmasse and put down thieving, bad houses, swearing, disorderly conduct of the boys, gambling, retailing spiritous liquors, bogus making, and such like abominations which were practiced in our midst by our enemies, who, after they could not live among us any longer, would go out to the world and publish these things upon us." He severely rebuked the civil authorities of the city for their want of energy in the discharge of their duties. "If we do not, as a people, uproot such things from our midst, they would uproot us, thus forcing us to leave before we had done the things the Lord had commanded us to do." The church leader did not imply all the Saints were that bad, but as at the present

time, he was speaking to those who were not present, the weaklings of the church who did not have the courage of their convictions.

To meet the President's challenge, a political meeting was held January 8, in the Seventy's Hall, to make plans for the city election. Those who were present consisted of the Twelve, High Council, and city officers. It was decided in the meeting that the Twelve should not serve in any civil office, so their hands might be free to do church work and complete the Temple. It was agreed, however, that the Twelve should serve as a committee to nominate candidates to all city offices. This committee brought in the following nominations: For Mayor, Orson Spencer; for Aldermen, Daniel Spencer, Charles C. Rich, Newell K. Whitney, and G. W. Harris; for Councillors, Phinelos Richards, W. W. Phelps, James Sloan, Edward Hunter, Jonathan C. Wright, John Pack, George Miller, Samuel Bent, and David Fullmer. These men were endorsed by the Caucus and later (January 14) accepted at a public meeting. January 11, Hosea was appointed judge of the election, which was held February 3. All the nominees were unanimously selected by the voters.

Meanwhile, January 21, the Illinois State Legislature repealed the Nauvoo Charter. Stunned by this action, church and city officials met (January 30) to decide what action could be taken to meet the new situation. Hosea's reaction to the repeal is worth recording:

"The repeal was not only cruel and tyrannical, but unprecedented in a civilized nation. It was thought best, however, to hold on to the Charter, and if necessary, appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. To this end there was a committee appointed to confer with the most able and learned legal men on the subject."

At this meeting George Miller made the suggestion that a petition be sent to Congress praying that lands around Nauvoo be organized into a Territory so that the people in that area might make their own laws separate from Illinois. Although the separation without the consent of Illinois would have been unconstitutional, still the suggestion reflects public opinion in Nauvoo.



The repeal had killed the city election, but as noted above, the election was held as scheduled and the elected officials met and chose a staff of workers. This group took the recommendation of Hosea and appointed the following town officers: Supervisor of Streets, First Ward, Lorenzo Clark; Second Ward, J. P. Harmon; Third Ward, Benjamin Jones. For Constables: First Ward, Benjamin Bayer; Second Ward, E. J. Salim; Third Ward, Howard Egan; Fourth Ward, D. M. Roper. Daniel Carn was appointed Flour Inspector; Jesse P. Harmon, Pound Master; and John D. Lee, Watermaster. Charter or no charter, these officials were sworn in and entered upon their duties, even though the city could not pay their salaries.

An echo of the martyrdom stirred Nauvoo (February 12) when one of the murderers of the Prophet (Elliot), came to the city and took refuge in the home of William Marks. He was discovered, however, arrested and taken before the city officials, who examined him carefully. Marks immediately informed the mob of his arrest, then did everything he could to arouse excitement against the church. Several lawyers came to Nauvoo from Warsaw and used every stratagem possible to have Elliott released. One of the lawyers threatened death to a Mormon leader if Elliot were sent to jail, thus "mobs were threatened if the law were put in force against a willful murderer." In spite of these threats, the prisoner was taken to Carthage jail, where he was forced to lie on the floors where the Prophet's blood was shed. Unfortunately, the diary fails to inform us what the outcome was.

The Charter gone, the church leaders worked out a new plan to enforce peace and preserve order in the community. A meeting was held (March 14) in the Masonic Hall, where it was decided to "organize the Saints into quorums of 12 Deacons, to be presided over by a Bishop. The members could administer in the lesser offices of the church, thus preserve order without a charter."

Hosea met (March 19) with President Young, where the two made a careful study of a western map. A suitable place for the Saints to settle was a difficult problem, since

accurate maps of the western states were unobtainable. From the maps in their possession they located the Great Basin between the headwaters of the Arkansas and of the Colorado. This would have placed the new Zion high on the Continental Divide in the State of Colorado. Considering the unreliable maps at their disposal, this was not a bad discovery.

Joseph Smith had always taught his followers to keep records. His emphasis explains why so many leaders in the church began the writing of journals—including Hosea's diary. It also explains why the church leaders decided to have a history of the Nauvoo Legion written up. The members of the committee chosen to do the research were: Charles C. Rich, A. P. Rockwood, Theodore Turley, and Hosea. The history was completed March 25, and accepted by Willard Richards.

Previous to the April General Conference, threats had been made by the mob that it would be broken up. Hosea was assigned the responsibility of preventing such a move. As Captain of the Police, he placed guards at all vital points within the city. The mob, having become cognizant of these preparations, made no move to carry out their threats. A new angle was added to the war of nerves by the appearance at the Conference of a Dr. Charles from Warsaw, who was seen taking notes and making unusual observations. "He pretended to be our friend, but in reality he was a secret enemy lurking in our midst, so we invited him to leave."

The spirit of persecution against the Saints was spreading like a prairie fire. Hosea writes that on April 13, a U. S. Marshall appeared in Nauvoo with a writ for Brigham Young and others. "John Taylor was spokesman for the brethren. He warned the officers that any attempt to serve the papers might cost them their lives. He told them how they had murdered two of our best men while under a civil process and the authority of the state pledged for their safety. We will not submit more to such outrages on our lives and liberties." Needless to say, the papers were not served. Part of the prairie fire had been extinguished.

Nauvoo's sponsorless Police Department was finally reorganized with a new sponsor. On April 16, Hosea met with the President of the Church and the five Trustees of the town, who appointed the "old police" to be the new police of the city. Hosea was again appointed Captain. The forces of justice were being organized to combat the prairie fire.

There is strong evidence piling up that at this period Hosea was fully converted to Mormonism. A person who had been taught all his life that only monogamy was chaste, then suddenly swallows polygamy unconditionally, means an ideological revolution had taken place. Hosea had accepted the doctrine of plural marriage as taught by Joseph Smith. He made good his belief by his marriage to Lucretia Fisher, April 20, 1845. Lucretia was born May 13, 1830, which means she was only 15 years old at that time. A man 35 years of age who could induce a girl only 15 to be a second wife while the first was still living, certainly speaks well for his powers over women! Since personal opinions are out of order, we shall move on to even stranger social phenomena. Forty days later (June 30) he accomplished a feat more incredible than the first. He married a third wife. This time it was nineteen-year-old Marinda Bennett, daughter of Richard and Mary Bell Bennett, born, August 26, 1826, at Bedford, Tennessee. It is indeed very remarkable that he could induce this charming lady in the very prime of life to be the third wife to a man 16 years her senior! The case illustrates the great influence which the teachings of Joseph Smith had on the people at that time. The act of marriage was more important than love or suitability.

It was a memorable day in Nauvoo when the capstone of the temple was laid (May 24). Hoseas' reactions are interesting:

"How different the scene from the day the foundation stone was laid under the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith. He stood at the head of the Nauvoo Legion, Sydney Rigdon was on his right and served as his spokesman. I remembered the flow of eloquence which gladdened the hearts of the Saints on that day as he addressed the vast

assemblage. But now our Prophet has fallen a martyr to the cause, sealed his testimony with his blood, and Sydney has turned a traitor to the cause of God and is now blaspheming against the same Prophet who appointed him spokesman. Rigdon has, this day, been proven a false prophet in the eyes of all the Saints for he has prophesied that the walls of the temple would never be completed, which, to our joy, were completed this very day. After the stone was laid, President Young observed to the Saints present that this was the seventh, the day on which the Lord finished the work of creation and rested, so we this day have finished the work of the wall of the temple."

During the months of July and August, Hosea spent many nights on guard as a precautionary measure against mob attack. September 7, the city was fully alerted in preparation for an expected attack. Picket guards were stationed four miles east of the city. Mobs burned several homes at Lima on September 11. General Rich ordered Hosea to place the Second Cohort in full preparation for an attack, which was done. In his diary, Hosea expressed a fear that the men who betrayed the Prophet might be exercising a bad influence in the military affairs of the city. He expressed these fears to General Rich who, however, assured him that these men were not admitted to the councils where military affairs were discussed. As a precautionary measure against such characters, a guard was placed on all roads leading into the city to prevent any contacts with the enemy.

The prairie fire mentioned by Hosea seemed to be spreading, so a defense council was held (September 15). It was decided that the Legion be put in immediate readiness for an emergency. At this meeting, Hosea was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General of the Second Cohort. At about this date, Colonel Beckemstos, a true friend of the Mormons, narrowly escaped being killed by ruffins while trying to make peace with the mob. He was innocently walking into an ambush prepared by the mob when he was rescued by two men who shot and killed the famous Morrell who, it is believed, killed the Prophet. "This mob-

crat and assassin was one of the worst enemies of the church, a tool of Colonel Levi Williams."

This incident proved to Hosea that a guard should be placed around the temple night and day. Large lanterns were placed at each corner to aid the guards to keep a better watch. Another detail was assigned to watch the Nauvoo House.

General Miller, accompanied by Sheriff Beckemstos, took a hundred men to Carthage to rescue some Mormons who were being held by the mob. Entering the town, they were fired on by the mob. The posse quickly returned the fire, then pursued the fleeing mob, who took with them the captured Saints. The wife of General Denning was the only one not taken by the mob. Before the posse had reached the town, the mob had attempted to burn their own houses then blame the crime on the Mormons, but the quick-acting Beckemstos put an end to that. The posse moved on to Warsaw, where more depredations were being committed. Arriving at the scene, the mob took to flight, the posse in deadly pursuit. Two of the scoundrels did not escape.

A general assembly of the Legion took place on the parade grounds, September 17, and there addressed by President Young:

"This is my wish, that every man from 16 to 100 be enlisted, armed, and equipped as the law directs, and be ready for any event that may happen. I want this beating of drums and firing of guns to cease. The police have their orders to arrest every man on our streets found guilty of these acts. I am going to propose to Beckemstos that he make every man a deputy, then we may sally forth with our writ and arrest the mobbers. When you shoot, be sure and shoot straight. If you die, die in defense of your country's rights. Keep your guns to yourselves. Trust no one. When you shoot, take a good aim." General Rich made a short speech. He asked the assembled men if they were willing to take the President's counsel. The response was unanimous.

Later in the day a conference was held between Rich and Stout, where security measures were proposed. They recommended that one company of troops be placed four miles above town, another on the Carthage road, and a third

four miles east of the city. "These companies had orders to let no one into town. If he were a friend he must prove it; if a spy—taken into custody." Thirty men were stationed near the Mansion House, another group was detailed a mile east of the temple. The tolling of the temple bell was understood to be the alarm signal. In this manner the Saints prepared for the prairie fire.

The flame was already burning at Camp Creek, so Hosea dispatched three wagons and twenty men to extinguish the blaze. The day following, a second assembly of the Legion was addressed by Brigham:

"As a signal, we will have the flag hoisted; then let all men come to the grounds. It is a signal for all commissioned officers to meet in council at General Miller's house. We intend shortly to have a light placed on top of the temple which can be seen for miles. The white flag is for the mustering of men. I would advise the officers to preserve the lines of your men. Do not unnecessarily expose them, because the life of a good man is worth 20 of the mob. If life is once gone, it is not brought back. I am for letting the mob go home if they will, then we can have the law take them to the gallows or the penitentiary. The mob would rather fight now than give up. Expose no lives, for life is not restored. There is a chance that we can take the evil-doers in the day they think not of."

Hosea received orders from General Rich to make ready 50 wagons for use the following day; each wagon to be moved with eight men, well armed and equipped with a six-pounder and ammunition. The purpose was to reinforce General Miller at Carthage. At a war council that evening it was decided that each commander supply an equal number of teams for the expedition. While this conference was still in session, Andrew H. Perkins, the Saints emissary to the mob, joined the group and reported the terms of surrender demanded by the mob. Its terms provided that we enter into a bond pledged to evacuate the state by April 1, 1846. All church property to serve as a guarantee for its performance. In return for this pledge the Saints were to remain in Nauvoo at peace during the winter. "The mob," Hosea writes, "had graciously annulled the Bill of Rights in favor



of the Saints." Reports were received in Nauvoo that "the spirit of the mob appeared to be broken and that sentiment toward the Saints was improving." Meanwhile it was decided by Brigham Young that Col. Hale take command of the reinforcements to be sent General Miller at Carthage. Miller requested more troops and reported that he had stopped the house-burning by the mob.

Early on the morning of September 20, the white flag was hoisted; 200 men began the expedition to Carthage. This move carried a threat the mob quickly acknowledged. General Rich was soon able to report that the "mob considered themselves whipped." On that same day, Hyrum Kimball, the mail carrier between Nauvoo and Keokuk, was inhumanly assaulted by a mob and threatened under penalty of death never to be seen again in Keokuk.

Hosea relates an incident which is descriptive of the tensions then prevailing:

"A Mr. Hamilton of Carthage was sent by the mob to treat with the Mormons. On arrival in Nauvoo he was so ashamed of the terms he was to demand—namely that the Saints surrender all and leave the state by April. Conscience-stricken, he refused to deliver the demands, so he returned home only to find his house occupied by Mormon troops. This pleased him so well that he joined up with the troops."

Reports that more mobs were gathering near Carthage caused increased tensions in Nauvoo. President Young immediately ordered 400 men to march to Carthage. Just as these men were ready to leave (September 21), Brigham learned that the report was false. The troops were then dismissed. That same day Cyrus Daniels and George Langley were sent on a special mission up the river. While executing this order they were fired upon by the mob. A bullet passed through the arm of Cyrus, leaving him in a critical condition—the arm was shattered to "atoms," says Hosea. The following day the Saints at Laharpe and Macedonia were threatened by mob violence. To meet this challenge, General Rich ordered Hosea to raise 80 men and march to their rescue.

The mob in Hancock County was nourished by spreading false charges against the Saints. The following incident is illustrative: Eleven men met in a council meeting and discussed a problem which concerned the group. They had been accused by George Backman of committing a crime but did not know what the charge was. They decided, however, to go to Carthage and stand trial, and in that way find out what the charges were. The group included, besides Hosea, Daniel Spencer, Charles C. Rich, William Clayton, Willard Richards, Edward Hunter, Reynolds Cahoon, and Alpheus Culter. On arriving at Carthage the company visited the jail where the Prophet was murdered. "The marks where the balls penetrated are still visible," writes Hosea, "the blood on the floor was still there. It was a scene which called forth feelings of horror." The visit was doubly significant for John Taylor and Willard Richards, for it had only been fifteen months since their horrible experience with the mob. Later in the day the party presented themselves at the Court House for trial. They were surprised to learn that the complaint which was signed against them was based entirely on fiction and false reports. Backman was obviously upset by this revelation and expressed his sorrow for having been deceived. Since there was no cause for action the defendants were discharged. The writs had been issued by R. F. Smith, Captain of the Carthage Grays, the same who had been in command when Joseph and Hyrum were martyred.

Enroute home they learned that the citizens of Quincy had made an official request to the church authorities relative to their intention of leaving the state "where," Hosea writes, "our peculiar organization would not engender so much strife and contention." These unjust demands provoked Brigham to condemn the mob in his strongest language:

"The object in calling you together is to guard you. I would advise those having teams to keep them bringing in grain and corn. I never intend to winter in the United States, except on a visit. We do not owe this country a single sermon. I do not intend to stay in such a hell of a hole, and if this be your mind, signify it by saying yes. (A

concurring 'yes' was loudly given by the assembly). They are continually accusing us of stealing their horses and cattle. I wish some of the brethren would steal and kill them (the cattle). I will venture to guess, as a Yankee, we will have the best winter we ever had. (A man interrupted to ask what should be done with those who were not Mormons.) Treat them the same as Mormons.

"We have been peacefully inclined, yet nothing appeases the mob. They are angry,—they know not what with. But I know, it is because the Kingdom of God is set up. We have done the best we could. They are as corrupt as hell—from the President down to the priest. The people are all as corrupt as the devil. I will leave them and God grant I may live to get some peace, health, and safety. If you are on patrol under the Sheriff, do not touch anyone's goods and the mob shall be cursed for their dishonesty. We do not owe them sermons nor lands. We will see who will judge the earth and then we will show them with what judgment they shall be judged. If the government had had the courage and spunk of a flea this parade would not have been necessary. We have been cursed with governors who were not worth having. Jacob B. Backenstos (the Sheriff) is the only man that has ever stood up for equal rights. If he goes right we will make a great man of him." (September 26).

The day after this speech, Hosea was busy preparing to dispatch reinforcements to Lehorpe and Carthage to assist Captain Egan. That evening he attended an officer's meeting in the Masonic Hall, where Brigham made another inspiring talk:

"If we are allowed to stay here this winter it will be a miracle indeed, for our enemies are seeking to annoy and aggravate us to retaliate. If we have to go it will cause much suffering. You should let your prayers be offered continually to God that we may be sustained here this winter. If ever we live to see the Kingdom of God set up we shall see the judgment poured out upon that man who seeks to overthrow the Kingdom. I would also caution you against using the name of God in vain. The name has been used too much.

The ancients forbade the too-frequent use of the name. I tell you the time is coming when that man who used the name of the Lord unnecessarily, the penalty will be immediate execution. Why should we use it in our private and public conversation? The ancients have given us an example of revering the name of Diety by calling the Priesthood not after God but after Melchizedek. The name must be held sacred. If we do not purify ourselves we shall yet be devoured by our enemies." The Lord's objective in permitting His Saints to be persecuted was to purify them. Many of the Saints failed to meet that test and were devoured or lost their testimonies, which is the same thing. Hosea met the test, for the rougher the treatment from the mob, the stronger his testimony became.

Captain Egan returned (September 28) from Carthage and reported that General Hardin had 320 men who had been sent there by the Governor to maintain order. Hardin issued orders dissolving the Nauvoo Police, claiming that his troops were sufficiently strong to maintain order. Accordingly, Hosea disorganized his company. That same evening a Mr. Herring met with the Council and expressed the opinions of the anti-Mormon crowd by urging the Saints to move from the State.

General Hardin entered Nauvoo, September 30, with four hundred men. His credentials implied he was there to maintain the "supremacy of the law." He announced that two men were missing, so he proceeded to search for their bodies. His actions implied the Mormons were guilty of their death. The troops searched the temple from top to bottom. The Masonic Hall and Mansion House were also searched. Colonel Scott ridiculed Hardin when he saw his men digging under hay stacks: "Why place them under the hay when the river was so near?" Their actions revealed their motives; it was not bodies they were seeking, it was cannon. The latter were too well hid to be found. Loss of the cannon would have destroyed the Saint's means of defense. Hosea's comment is pertinent:

"I have no confidence in the State Troops since our leaders were murdered by the Governor and his men. The idea that rational men would hide bodies under the hay or

in the temple during warm weather is most ridiculous. Their object was too obvious. Personally, I feel indignant at the very idea. When I think of the honor of Governor Ford and the plighted faith of the state to Joseph and Hyrum's protection; how he withdrew his forces to insult the people of Nauvoo while his fellow-conspirators assassinated them in cold blood at Carthage, I can truly say that it is my heart's desire and prayer to God that they may be speedily damned to the lowest grade of hell."

A meeting was held between the Twelve, who represented the Saints, and Hardin and Steven A. Douglas, who represented the people of Illinois. The subject of this meet was the crisis. In Hardin's concluding speech he drew a dark picture of the situation as reported by Hosea:

"He seemed to think that he could do nothing for us. If we marched away the mob would rise again; then, if we defended ourselves as he said we had a right to do, the mob would gather forces strong enough to overwhelm us at once. He never said anything about the protecting arm of the government! His conclusion of the whole matter was that if we did not give the public some convincing token that it was our determination to leave here in the spring that nothing could be done to save us from total destruction! What patriotic protection for an officer sent by the Governor to maintain the supremacy of the law!"

The following day witnessed the exit of Hardin and his troops from Nauvoo. Enroute from town, the soldiers shouted insults at the people which inspired Hosea to write:

"This showed the goodness and patriotism of this efficient arm of the law so kindly sent by the Governor to insult and abuse us as he did last year under the name of protection and law! It was this incident that prompted Brigham to give orders to raise 100 men from the old police to leave for California to seek a suitable place for a settlement. Hosea was given the task of organizing ten companies to make the trip.

At the first session (October 5) of the General Conference which was held in the Temple, John Taylor gave the keynote address. He outlined the people's prospects for

“going to California and being redeemed from oppression and legal mobocracy.” At the second session the authorities were presented to the people for their approval or disapproval. When the name of William Smith was reached he was disapproved, both as a member of the Twelve, and at Patriarch to the Church. The third day of the Conference proved to be more exciting. Some of Hardin’s troops came into town and went direct to the place where Col. Scott had hidden some artillery. Scott met the threat by reinforcing the guard with orders to let no one touch it. This show of force induced the troops to withdraw. The situation became more alarming, so General Rich ordered all men to go home and get their guns and prepare for the worst. This caused so much excitement that Conference sessions were cancelled for that day.

Tensions reached a new high on October 10, when troops from Quincy began pouring into Nauvoo to disarm the Saints. The Church authorities met the challenge by a mobilization of all manpower. All male members were advised to be ready at a moment’s notice to give their all. The word was passed down the line not to give up arms, but to shoot first if that was necessary. The signal for an assembly was the hoisting of the flag on the Temple. Writes Hosea:

“We were determined not to let them come in and arrest our men to be murdered in cold blood as had been done. If they should try it, we were determined to cut them off from the face of the earth, though we all should be exterminated by a government always ready to sanction the acts of the mob.”

That same day Hosea received intelligence that the mob sought his arrest in connection with the disappearance of a mobster who had been found dead. General Rich advised him to go under cover until the heat was off. Allen Week’s cellar was used as a hideout, but to Hosea the confinement was unbearable. So he came out of hiding and started organizing companies for the trip west. These groups were largely made up of men who had been members of the old police. The men chosen were highly pleased with Hosea’s appointment.



On October 21, Hosea learned of another writ for his arrest so he went back into hiding. While there he attended a council meeting in the home of John Taylor, where it was decided to raise home troops to guard the country against depredations committed by the very men "whom the Governor had sent here to maintain the supremacy of the law." This council chose Hosea to lead one of these posses and to patrol the countryside near Nauvoo. While executing these orders, his company met Major Warren and a group of soldiers. In an ugly mood, Major Warren demanded a reason for Hosea's presence. Hosea's answer was unsatisfactory so he accused him of treasonable intentions. These were emphatically denied. Warren then wanted to know why Hosea and his men were carrying arms. That was the opening he had been waiting for. The "arms had been carried," Hosea retored, "ever since two of our men had been murdered in jail while under the protection of the Governor." The truth made the Major rage. He was too angry to reply.

Two days later Warren complained to John Taylor that Hosea's actions were not justifiable. This gave John Taylor an opportunity to speak his mind. Said he: "You and your troops are but a legalized mob." Warren was highly offended by this remark. Warren's demeanor became so threatening that a guard was placed around John.

The situation did not improve during those autumn months. Edmund Durfee was murdered November 16 at Bear Creek while trying to rescue the last of his grain. While so occupied, he discovered that his barn was on fire. While attempting to extinguish the blaze, he was shot down in cold blood. The mob reported that he was violating the law by harvesting his own crops. The men who committed the crime were the same who were sent by the Governor to maintain law and order!

Hosea was informed (December 9) by President Young that he had been selected to go on a mission to England. When asked for his reactions to the call, he indicated his hearty willingness to respond. For good reasons, the call never came, but seven years later he responded to another foreign mission across a broader ocean.

The Font of the Nauvoo Temple was dedicated December 10, 1845, so that those who were worthy could receive their endowments. Hosea and Louisa received their endowments December 15; Miranda was endowed December 18, while Lucretia received hers January 21, 1846. All three women were sealed to Hosea for time and all eternity on February 2, 1846.

Vexatious as these great persecutions were, there was one man in Nauvoo who had not lost his sense of humor. December 23 a posse arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Brigham Young. When this posse reached the Temple Gate they saw two men standing there, one of whom looked like Brigham. These two men were William Miller and G. D. Grant.

These men sensed the mission of the posse. Miller decided to teach these troops a lesson. Miller and Grant walked by the troops, and as they did so Grant spoke to Miller, addressing him: "Brigham, do you want a ride home?" Miller nodded his head in reply. This was the tip-off the posse was waiting for. The leader of the posse stepped up to Miller and arrested him, believing he had the real Brigham. The "bogus Brigham" was taken to Carthage in triumph, but on arrival there the officer in charge discovered to his dismay the true identity of his prisoner. This was Miller's idea of saving Brigham from the mob.

The Governor, determined not to be outsmarted by the Mormons, decided to arrest members of the Twelve. He failed to find a charge which would stick, so he fashioned his accusations out of thin air. Hosea called his action, "cursed rascality of a legalized mob sent to vex us." The leaders met the new challenge by doubling the guard at the Temple and increasing the street patrols both night and day. The papers were not served on the Twelve. Four days later (December 30), a third attempt was made to serve writs on citizens in Nauvoo. This time Hosea and his horsemen followed close behind them. When the troops discovered they were being followed, they halted to ask the meaning of the action. Hosea told the leader he had a man in his company named Hill who was guilty of murder. This so frightened

the mob that they fled in terror. The year ended as it had begun, in a high state of tension. But it was not as ominous as 1844, so Hosea's prayer had come true.

## 1846

The new year did not bring peace, nor did it bring happiness in the home of Hosea Stout. It was the year that tested his faith as no other had. After standing firm in the great struggle against the adversary, he was ready to meet any test.

Excitement began anew when a spy was caught and kicked out of town (January 9). The following day Elisha Hoops rushed into town to report that a mob was mobilizing at Warsaw for another campaign against the Saints. January 12, shortly after midnight, word reached Nauvoo that troops from Carthage were approaching town. The town was quickly aroused. Large crowds gathered at the Temple grounds. Spies were sent out to watch the movements of the mob. When the troops reached the city, they were not only insolent, but down-right insulting in their behavior. The Mormon guard covered them on all sides, watching every move they made. Such surveillance encouraged more insolence and insults from the mob. Hosea, who was in charge of the guard, informed the mob leader that it was the citizens of Nauvoo who were mistreated by their unconstitutional acts, and warned them not to repeat their mistakes if they wanted to live. This show of force caused a hasty retreat to Carthage.

Meanwhile, preparations for the move west were rapidly taking shape. Hosea attended (January 13) a council meeting where all details were worked out. The following day, Brigham appointed Hosea to be head of a spy ring. He was to send out spies to all parts of the country to watch the movements of the mob and report their acts. Several carefully selected men were chosen to serve as informers. One of these was Franklin R. Tower, who operated in Warsaw. Tower reported (January 20) that the enemy was organizing secret societies to make simultaneous attacks on Nauvoo from all sides, and that many of the Twelve were selected to

be arrested. He also reported that the enemy had spies in Nauvoo who were even members of Hosea's guard! These men were plotting his death and the death of others. The mob, Tower reported, had been trying to hire a killer to assassinate members of the Twelve. Thus alerted, the Twelve made careful plans for their personal safety.

Hosea attended (January 24) a special meeting in the Temple where Almon W. Babbitt, James L. Haywood, and John S. Fullmer were elected Trustees-in-Trust for the Church. The enemies within the guard soon showed their hand by making threats against their lives. A man named Langley, who had been a member of the old police, was very bitter and hostile toward Hosea. He had attempted to poison the mind of Charles C. Rich and members of the Twelve against him. Hosea's reaction to these conspiracies is best stated by himself:

"I think something is wrong in the minds of the Twelve, in relation to this matter. I feel I have done my duty in protecting their lives from persons within and out. Such precautions have caused indignation from the mob and jealousy from false brethren within. My life is threatened and diligently sought by both. Whether I live or die, I am determined to sustain the Twelve and the authorities. I feel that some very unexpected catastrophe is going to happen because of these false brethren." These conflicts caused such a disturbance in Hosea's mind that he sought an interview with Brigham (February 2, the same day his three wives were sealed to him), who assured him that he was fully satisfied with him as head of the police. This greatly eased the tension and strengthened his morale for greater efforts.

That same day the word was passed from family to family to be ready to leave for the west in three days. The next six days were spent in packing, providing equipment, and settling his personal affairs. February 6 he met with President Young at the Temple, where final instructions for crossing the river were issued. It was Hosea's duty to notify all Captains to have their extra teams at the Masonic Hall the next day for landing instructions. Hosea was also instructed to assemble all extra men in the different companies

and organize them into a body of troops ready to march on foot as needed. These instructions were fully carried out.

The cannon which was previously owned by the Legion was a problem for Hosea and John Scott to solve. This artillery could not be left for the mob, nor could it easily be taken west for lack of transportation space. Hosea and John decided to consult Brigham about the problem. The President instructed them to prepare luggage wagons for the cannon. Such transportation was difficult to provide, since all wagons were piled high with personal luggage. Hosea, however, found space for the ordnance which eventually reached Utah.

It was on February 8, that the Twelve delivered their last sermons in Nauvoo. On that day, Hosea packed two wagons of his own and sent them across the river. He and his family, however, did not cross till the next day. The battle for Nauvoo was over for Hosea, but for some of the Saints the struggle drug on for seven more months. Hosea now faces west, so a new chapter in his life begins.

## EXILED FOR RELIGION

Like hundreds of other Saints, Hosea was willing to leave home and lands for a church he knew possessed the only true religion. Such firm convictions will carry a man far. In Hosea's case, he was more than willing to cast his lot with a persecuted people who were giving up all their early possessions for a life of hardship in the unknown west.

The crossing of the Mississippi took place February 9, when the waters, made rough by high winds, were filled with floating ice. When half way across, they sighted a skiff piled high with wood. The skiff was sinking. Two frightened boys on the sinking skiff cried for help when they saw Hosea's party coming. A ferry-boat in Hosea's convoy rushed to the rescue. The boys were barely rescued when the ferry-boat itself began to sink. This sent up a whole chorus of cries for help. The boat on which the Stouts were riding made an attempt to rescue them all, but in doing so nearly capsized, so the attempt was abandoned; the passengers were placed on an island in mid-stream. Meanwhile the ferry and all on board were dumped into the icy waters before a passing boat could pick them up. These poor, wet victims were left on the same bleak island where the Stouts were stranded.

While on that island they witnessed a great spectacle on the eastern horizon—the Nauvoo Temple was on fire. This grim picture produced quite a sensation among the exiles. The fire was soon extinguished, however, after considerable damage was done to the roof. Meanwhile, in Nauvoo, a rumor was spreading that Hosea and his entire family were drowned in the river. The story had some truth for at that every moment Hosea, Louisa, and son William were lying sick on that bleak island, poorly sheltered. This island remained their temporary home for several days. During that time, Hosea made several trips back to Nauvoo to assist others to make the crossings. On one of those trips



(February 13) he saw the grave of Samantha at Sugar Creek. His reflections are interesting:

"Instead of being deprived of my lost bosom friend, I now have three equally dear and confiding to me."

The diary is not clear but it is believed he moved his family from the island to the west bank February 14. He describes a scene worthy of record:

"This morning there was deep snow on the ground. The snow was still falling fast, being whipped by a high wind. So comfortable were we in the tent that not one of us knew it was snowing till we looked out. There were many families that night in our camp, sleeping in wagons without covers, who were exposed to the weather whose situation was very uncomfortable."

Hosea made his last trip to Nauvoo February 15; there he supervised the loading of a wagon of guns and other military equipment. This was part of an assignment given him by Brigham. The Saints were going west prepared to fight. Returning to camp, the wagons were loaded, and the climb up the west hill was begun. The hill was steep and muddy, so it was necessary to double-up before the top could be reached. It was late in the evening when the cold, fatigued family made camp for the night. There were no reception parties awaiting them to make conditions comfortable. They built a new camp and called it Kedron; it was located on the east bank of Sugar Creek. That evening the campers were joined by Brigham Young and his family.

The first thing Brigham did on arrival was to appoint Hosea as Captain of the Guard. Hosea then chose Charles Allen as Sergeant. Instructions were then given to the guard on methods of keeping the camp clean. Men were assigned to make preparations for the observance of sanitary rules. Hosea's description of Kedron is worth recording:

"Our camp was located on the curved bank of the creek, creating a large circle, the center of which was reserved for a parade ground. Our horses, oxen and cows were placed in the rear. At 2 o'clock I had a white flag raised in front of my tent as a token of peace. The flag re-

fused to wave in the air, notwithstanding a light breeze was blowing. The flag seemed to say it could not proclaim peace in the United States where oppression and tyranny still ruled the waves. From this oppression, the people of God were fleeing from her borders, into the wilderness, as refugees from her iron yoke!"

Two wagons, loaded with powder and military equipment arrived (February 16) in camp. Brigham placed Colonel Markham and Hosea in charge of these supplies. These wagons were placed in the center of the circle where a strong guard was detailed. The 200 troops were organized with captains over each fifty. The captains chosen were: Chandler Rogers, Benjamin Jones, Charles Allen and Duncan McArthur. It required two days to effectively instruct these men in their duties. Brigham emphasized the importance of order and stressed the necessity of saving provisions, which could not be purchased in the wilderness. Brigham placed Hosea in charge of building pens for corn and made him head of the Commissary Department. Hosea in turn, placed Captain Benjamin Jones (his brother-in-law) in charge of building corn pens, and appointed George W. Harris as head of the Commissary. Twelve more days of preparation were necessary at Sugar Creek before the camp was ready to move into the wilderness.

March 1 the pilgrims broke camp; the westward march was begun. The trail led up the dividing ridge between Sugar Creek and the Des Moines River. Six miles were covered the first day. Many difficulties had to be met. Teams often stalled up the steep grades, making it necessary to double up or help roll the wagons up by hand. The caravan could move no faster than the weakest and slowest oxen could pull its load. It was Hosea's duty to ride in advance and choose the right road to travel. A wrong steer might cost the travelers several days to rectify. The second night the travelers camped in a field where firewood was plentiful. The third day the caravan passed through Farmington, a small rural community on the Des Moines River. Here Hosea dismounted and went into a country store. There were quite a number of local patrons in the store who manifested symptoms of trouble making. The men held

their distance, however, when they saw Hosea's two six-shooters and Bowie knife, all in sight. These were eyed scornfully. When Hosea approached any of the men they gave him a "wide berth."

A camping site was located several miles west, where Bishop Miller had prepared pens and fenced in the area. The land-owner had given permission to use all the dry wood needed. The caravan remained here one full day to rest up. Hosea called his guards into a meeting, where the need for food conservation and less dependence on the church for food, when not traveling, was stressed. To these suggestions the group heartily agreed. Evidently some of the men inwardly disagreed with these suggestions. Tension was very high for some could not fall in line. Charles Allen, Captain of the third fifty, secretly called a few of his henchmen together and delivered "an inflammatory speech against what I had said, declaring he would not work, nor receive orders from me." Such manifestations of disloyalty, however, did not deter Hosea from performing his full duties. After a much-needed rest, the caravan resumed its march westward. The roads were narrow, muddy, full of deep holes, and very killing on the teams. Climbing the hill west of Bonaparte many teams were stalled before the level lands were reached. The travelers spent the night at Indian Creek.

The illness of Louisa delayed the family for a few hours, but by traveling fast they caught up with the group at Richardson's Point. Here grim necessity forced Hosea to trade a bedstead for eight bushels of corn. The companies paused March 8 for a Sabbath rest and worship. J. M. Grant was the speaker at the services. Lack of food forced Hosea to dispose of more furniture, this time a table, which he traded for a live hog. This animal was divided among members of the guard. Group survival, Hosea believed, demanded that food supplies be distributed to the many and not the few. Leaky tents and rainy days did not contribute to the comfort of Louisa, whose approaching confinement was close at hand. Despair was turned to hope when a quail came fluttering into the tent, as though sent by providence. The food which it provided reminded the fam-

ily of a similar experience by the children of Israel, who likewise were provided with the same food.

The artillery proved so burdensome that it was decided to cache part of it. While placing a rock to indicate its location, Mr. Rchirdson, the land owner, approached and asked the meaning of their movements. H. G. Sherwood, who acted as spokesman, not wishing to reveal the secret, replied that he was taking observations to determine the distance to Nauvoo. This answer assured Richardson and insured the safety of the cannon, too. During the ten-day stop at Richardson's Point the rains continued unceasingly, making the roads impassable. It was decided in a council that those whose families were still in Nauvoo might return if they chose. Thirty men took advantage of this opportunity and returned to Nauvoo.

Modern Israel resumed its journey March 19 and traveled fifteen miles that day. At noon the following day they crossed Fox River, beyond which they struck the old Mormon Trail. It had been eight years since Hosea and Charles C. Rich fled down that trail to escape the vengeance of the satanic Boggs. The Chariton River was crossed March 22. Its banks were so steep the wagons had to be let down by ropes, then pulled up the opposite side, using several teams on each wagon. The operation required a full day to get all the wagons across. While waiting to be taken across the wife of Henry B. Jacob gave birth to a child.

Beyond the Chariton the travelers waded in rain, mud and snow for three days, most of the time a heavy wind joined the elements to make life more disagreeable. Some of the families were short of food, both for man and beast. Colonel Rockwood proved a life saver when he came into camp with 150 pounds of flour. This was distributed among the families most in need of food. The Saints reasoned that if the group was to survive there could be no hoarding. The struggle for existence found the members unconsciously bidding against each other when purchasing corn. This sent the price of corn up ten cents more a bushel. This situation aroused Brigham to take action. He cautioned the brethren against such unwise procedures. The depletion of food

stocks became alarming. A council meeting was called to examine the situation. It was decided (March 26) to recommend that as many as possible seek employment in nearby settlements, others be sent on to the Platte to lay up grain, and that still others cut rails and dig coal pits for the oncoming caravans. Group insurance was a fundamental doctrine of the Latter-day Saints.

At Shoal Creek a general council was held, March 27. The advance company was completely re-organized. Brigham Young was sustained as General Superintendent of the camp. The 300 persons were divided into six companies, each presided over by a president, a contractor, a commissary clerk and a clerk. Two captains were appointed for each fifty. William Clayton was appointed General Clerk for the whole camp. The personnel for the six companies were: First Company, Brigham Young, President; Captains, Ezra T. Benson and A. P. Rockwood; J. D. Lee, clerk; H. G. Sherwood, contractor; and Charles Fenada, commissary clerk. Second Company, Heber C. Kimball, President; Steven Markham, captain; J. M. Grant, commissary clerk; David D. Yearsley, contractor; and John Pack, clerk. Third Company, Parley P. Pratt, President; John Smith and John Harvey, captains; Nathan Tanner, commissary clerk; William H. Edwards, contractor, and Lorenzo Snow, clerk. Fourth Company, Peter Haws, President; Howard Egan, captain; Orson B. Adams, commissary clerk; and George Hale, clerk. Fifth Company, John Taylor, President; C. C. Rich, captain; James Allred, commissary clerk; Joseph Worthan, contractor; and John Oakley, clerk. Sixth Company, George Miller, President; Charles Crisman, captain; Isaac Allred, commissary clerk; Samuel Gully, contractor; and Asael Lathrop, clerk. The guard was to be drawn equally from the six companies. Hosea was assigned that duty. Enroute home from this council Hosea had a friendly chat with Lorenzo Young, relative to "our travels on this road, when we fled from Missouri. He spoke of his feelings toward me and the precarious duties of my office." Two days later it was decided to organize a guard from the first company, which was to consist of two groups,

one the old police, the other the teamsters. Hosea was appointed to head both groups.

With the new organization endowed with new life, the caravan moved on. On April 2 a letter was received from Orson Hyde, in Nauvoo, who reported that William Smith was doing all he could against the Saints. Brigham's comment was that he felt satisfied that William was in the murder plot with the Hodges in Iowa, two of whom had been hung. The first company reached Hickory Grove (April 3) after a fifteen-mile march in the rain. During this period Louisa was suffering from a bad case of pleurisy. There were no hospitals where treatment could be had; the rough, bouncing wagons were the only retreat for the sick. Hosea reports that the roads at Locus Creek were the worst he had ever seen: "It was up and down sloughs on spouty ridges and deep marshes, and raining all the while. The horses would sometimes sink to their bellies. On arrival at camp the men were wet through, worn out, fatigued and hungry. Grass was plentiful, however, so the stock was able to replenish their thin bodies.' The winds, during the night, threatened to blow Hosea's tents down, so with a rope he braced himself against the wind and would have lost the fight had not Allen Weeks came to his rescue. The men were thoroughly drenched before the rains stopped.

During the seven-day rest at Locus Creek, Brigham advised each captain of ten to appoint a teacher in his company to see that each man attend his duty in spiritual matters. Accordingly, Hosea appointed George W. Harris to serve in that capacity. Another council was held during that seven days. It was decided to send teams on to Grand River to buy grain. When these teams returned the company would then take a more northern route, make a settlement, then move on to the west bank of the Missouri River. Such plans, it was believed, would enable the poor in Nauvoo to come and find a place to live and make a living. It was also decided to send teams to the rear, to assist those who were poorly equipped to catch up. Indeed, Brigham was the father of the group welfare doctrine, which taught that the individual is best insured when his group is collectively solvent.



The caravan moved (April 13) out of Locust Creek and climbed the mile-long hill, a struggle which required the doubling up on each wagon. Four days in the mud brought the pilgrims to Pleasant Point (April 17) where the leaders went into a conference to determine who could make the trip to the Rocky Mountains. The captains were requested to make a list of the persons who were prepared. Hosea writes that he could not be placed on the list for the reason that he was entirely out of provisions.

The weary travelers paused (April 19) for the Sabbath and a day of rest. At church services Brigham gave detailed instructions to those making the trip to the mountains. He recommended that each person be rationed to one-half pound of flour per day. Some thought that was too small an allowance, but Bishop Miller claimed he could live on one-quarter pound per day. He said his family "had lived on less than that since they left Nauvoo." A letter was received that day from J. C. Wright, Cincinnati, stating that Sidney Rigdon and his claims to the presidency had exploded. This was in fulfillment of a prophecy that all attempts to mislead the church would come to naught.

The travelers moved on to Hog Creek (April 21), where, on arrival, they killed two wild hogs. Enroute the day had been full of excitement, caused by a prairie fire. A "Prairie Chicken" had been born whom they named Louisa. Louisa, the mother, was allowed but three days to recuperate, when the journey was resumed. The only hospital she enjoyed was the rough wagon, which found every hole and rock in the road. Eight miles of such bumpy roads, which nearly killed his sick wife, was not enough trouble for the family, so the three older children came down with whooping cough. These difficulties did not stop the family, for the next day six more miles were covered in the rain and mud before Garden Grove was reached.

Meanwhile John Scott and his party returned from Grand River and reported that the people there were very hostile toward the Saints. He and his men were mobbed and later expelled from the region. Garden Grove proved to be far more peaceful. The soil was very rich, which ex-

plained the heavy, muddy roads. Little did the exiles realize why the soil was so fertile. Even the scientists of that day did not have the answer.

A decision was made (April 29) to send 100 single men across the mountains to plant a crop for the on-coming exiles. The council also decided to instruct the Trustees at Nauvoo to sell the Temple and use the proceeds to assist the poor to move into the wilderness. The belief was general that the temple could be of no use to the Saints after moving west.

Anna, the sister of Hosea, appealed (May 1) for assistance. Her husband had gone to seek employment so she was unable to keep up with the companies. Her personal property was at Pleasant Hill, so Hosea sent two men with wagons to bring the goods into camp. This left Hosea and family in a precarious position: "This left me destitute of any help. My men were gone so I had to herd the cattle alone, sick as I was. It was a lonesome day after being accustomed to the hum of public life. I came in before night almost fainting with a headache, which later confined me to my bed."

On a Sabbath day (May 3) President Young spoke to the assembled Saints as follows:

"The duty of this camp is to make a farm here, for this is the will of the Lord to us now. Whoever thought that the Lord would lead us through Iowa and into Missouri and then back into Iowa again? We know the Lord led us and we do not care for the consequences as long as the presence of the Lord is with us."

Sickness and lack of provisions made life hard for the Stout family. Hosea was forced to report to the authorities (May 6) that his family had nothing left to eat. He was soon provided with enough parched meal to make one mess. During this food crisis the weatherman was on a rampage. Heavy winds and rain forced him to "hold up my tent in the storm to protect my wife and sick child." It was this exposure and lack of proper diet that caused the death of Hyrum, who was suffering from whooping cough and black canker. The end came (May 9) while "in my arms. This was the

second child who had died in my arms. I shall not attempt to express my feelings at this time because my family is still afflicted. My wife, Louisa, is yet unable to get about. Little Hosea, my only son, is now wearing down with the same complaint. I have fearful forebodings of coming evils. We are truly desolate and afflicted, and entirely destitute of anything to eat, much less to nourish the sick."

In two weeks time, Garden Grove was quite a community of log cabins. At a meeting (May 10) Brigham suggested it be used as a lay-over station for the poor. His suggestion was sustained by the vote of the people.

J. D. Hunter and Hosea decided to pool their resources and equipment, and began making plans for moving farther west. Rains, however, hampered their preparations. The day before leaving, news of the outbreak of the war between Mexico and the United States reached Garden Grove. This intelligence had a strange effect on Hosea:

"I confess that I was glad to learn of war against the United States. I hoped the war might never end until the States were entirely destroyed, for they had driven us into the wilderness, and were now laughing at our calamities."

After thirty-three days at Garden Grove, the pioneers were ready to move (May 28) further west. One full day was lost because the wrong road was taken, and this cost eighteen extra miles of traveling. The family found the main body at Mount Pisgah, where garden planting was immediately begun. The valley was rich and fertile. Hunter and Hosea proceeded to build a house, and started farming in earnest. Charles C. Rich arrived from the Bluffs with a written order from Brigham, relieving Hunter and Hosea of the responsibility of caring for the public arms. This assignment had been a real headache, so he was happy for the change. Hosea and Hunter began preparing to move into their cabin, when Brigham returned to Mount Pisgah with a new plan for them. Says Hosea, "he wanted us to go on with the guns and leave our families at Pisgah." When Brigham learned that both families were destitute, he changed his mind and suggested that Hosea take his family along. Charles C. Rich was instructed to provide Hosea

with an extra wagon for the trip. Several days of preparation were needed to make the new start. Food supplies ran out. "Hunger began to grin hard around us, we knew not where the next meal would come from. My wife went to preparing our dinner which might be properly called our 'ultimatum.' It consisted of a small portion of seed beans and a little bacon boiled into soup. Just as it was ready, Henry J. Sherwood and James W. Cummings rode up. They were very hungry. I invited them to eat, which they readily consented to do. Little did they realize that they were going to make away with all I had, then leave us in this wild and desolate place to risk the kind hand of Providence for the next. We had a joyful time with plenty to eat, but none was left." It seemed Providence did take a hand in the matter, for a colored boy came to Hosea's wagon and applied for a job as teamster to pay for his transportation west. Hosea needed a man badly so he gladly accepted him.

The exit from Pisgah began (June 20) after a twenty day stop. Eight miles were covered the first day. The negro drove one team while "one of the girls" drove another team. (This is the first mention of Marinda and Lucretia made by Hoseas diary since leaving Nauvoo.) The company crossed (June 22) the Little Platte and arrived at Nodaway the next day, where they saw their first Indians.

Young William Hosea, who had been suffering from whooping cough, was rapidly losing strength. After being administered to, he showed signs of improvement and might have recovered had the storms not come. That evening (June 25) "one of the hardest rains of the season came. The water came in torrents and was accompanied by heavy winds. In a few minutes our tent was down. This permitted the water to run through the wagon covers, wetting the bed on which young Hosea lay. He was discovered to be lying in water. He immediately took worse, thus our last hope of recovery vanished. His condition continually grew worse till the end, June 28. Thus died my only son, the one on whom I had placed my name. He was truly the dearest object of my heart. He had gone in the midst of affliction, sorrow, and disappointments, surrounded by a wild, solitary

wilderness which was calculated to make man unhappy and disconsolate. Without the necessities of life, we had no prospects for bread in the future. Here in this wild land we must lay him down where the silence of his peaceful grave will only be broken by the savage yells of the natives. He was buried on a hill beside the grave of an infant of John Smith. We had now only one child, a daughter born on the road." (She, too, was soon to go.)

After the burial, the caravan resumed its journey westward. A distance of only four miles was made that day. They camped near an Indian village.

Startling news was brought into camp that evening. P. R. Wright rode into camp that evening with the shocking intelligence that the President of the United States had made a requisition on the Mormons for 500 men to march to Santa Fe and fight Mexico. Hosea's reaction was swift:

"We were all very indignant at this requisition, viewing it as a plot to bring trouble on us. In the event we did not comply with the requisition, they would have a pretext for denouncing us as enemies of the country. If we did comply, they would then have 500 of our men in their power to destroy as they had done our leaders at Carthage. I confess my feelings were uncommonly wrought up against them. This was the universal sentiment at Pisgah. General Rich sent me word by Brother Wright to keep a sharp lookout for Captain James Allen, so that he did not get any knowledge of the public arms which I had."

Parley P. Pratt rode (June 30) into camp from the Bluffs with instructions to move on as soon as possible. Brigham was anxious to see the expedition to the mountains get started as soon as possible. Before reaching the camp, Brother Pratt had attempted to swim the creek on his horse but ran into difficulties and nearly drowned. He was saved by an Indian boy who first satisfied himself that Pratt was a good Mormon.

The company to whom Hosea belonged had been working several days to construct a bridge across this same creek. The recent floods had broken the bridge down. Their progress had been slow due to poor management. The men fin-

ally realized this defect, so they elected Raymond Clark to serve as foreman on the project. Under his superior judgment the bridge was soon completed (July 2). During the construction work large numbers of Indians came to watch it. Bridges were as foreign to the Indians as baseball would have been. When the bridge was completed, the pioneers all made a rush to cross over, fearing it would break down again. This caused confusion, and some ill feelings were aroused. The passage over the bridge greatly amused the Indians.

The day following this incident, Hosea's oxen gave out. This forced him to fall out of the caravan to give his animals a rest. "Here I was, left in a desperate situation. My provisions had given out, so we were driven to the necessity of boiling corn to sustain life. Later Brother Daniel Wood gave us some meal, another gave us some flour, so our needs were partly met."

That same evening (July 3, President Young and a group of leaders arrived from the Bluffs and announced the decision of the church to comply with the requisition of the government for 500 men. The leaders were then enroute to Pisgah and Garden Grove to raise the men. "Their presence," writes Hosea, "seemed to give new hope to the camp, all of whom flocked around them asking questions. After a few words of comfort to us, they moved on. Two more hard days of slow traveling brought Hosea and his family to the Bluffs (July 5). Since Orson Hyde was in charge, Hosea went to him for instructions. Elder Hyde invited Hosea to camp near him, which was on a ridge. So ends 146 days of traveling and the beginning of more than 22 months of life at Winterquarters. After Hosea had taken Louisa to her parents for a visit, he made a call on Captain Allen. His appraisal of the man is valuable:

"He was a plain, non-assuming man, without that proud, overbearing strut and self-conceited dignity which some call an officer-like appearance. . . . I was much pleased with his manner as a gentleman, notwithstanding my prejudice against not only him but also the government which he was sent to represent."



## LIFE AT HEADQUARTERS

The first problem to solve, after arriving in the wild country, was to obtain food for his starving family. This was no easy task, since he was penniless and without hope of employment. His friend, Rockwood, informed him that meal could be had without an order. Although his family was starving, he refused to take advantage of this brand of charity. "I concluded," writes Hosea, "that I would rather starve than live thus ignominiously in the midst of the Saints." Fully alarmed, Hosea sought employment at a sawmill four miles from camp. Disappointed in this attempt, he returned to camp very sick. There was no time for illness, so he began trading his furniture for food. This proved insufficient to meet his needs.

Desperate as his domestic situation was, he was ever ready to serve in the public interest. Accompanied by Rockwood, Orson Pratt, and George A. Smith, he crossed the river to locate a suitable place for a permanent camp. After returning he sought out Brother Harris and revealed to him his domestic situation and asked fatherly advice. Brother Harris recommended that he join the army and go to Santa Fe with the Battalion. This, he assured, would subsidize his family and give employment too. Serious illnesses and pressing family responsibilities made it impossible to take this advice.

On a Sabbath day (July 12) he attended a meeting in John Taylor's tent. Elder Woodruff related his missionary experiences in England. Elder P. P. Pratt spoke in favor of contributing the 500 men to the army. His arguments were so convincing that many were converted to the idea. "Indeed, it needed considerable explaining," writes Hosea, "for everyone was about as prejudiced as I was."

Brigham Young and party returned from Garden Grove that evening so the next day a major council meeting was held, where historic decisions were made. A careful study of the government's offer was made. The President led the

discussion and was ably supported by George A. Smith, who related the purposes of Col. Kane's mission to the Mormons. It was Kane who carried the message from the President of the United States to Col. Kearney, suggesting that he contact the Mormons for 500 troops—believing he was doing the Mormons a special favor. Kearney detailed Captain James Allen to execute the order. His mission was very successful for four companies were organized that same day. Jefferson Hunt was elected Captain of the first company, Jesse D. Hunter was chosen Captain of the second, the famous James Brown Captain of the third, while Nelson Higgins headed the fourth. Two days later (July 15), a fifth company was organized, with Captain Daniel C. Davis as leader. A party was given for the departing soldiers. Elder Pratt expressed the sentiments of the people when he advised the men “not to misuse their enemies when they fell into their hands, nor take or spoil their property, but to remember that they were our fellow beings to whom the gospel is yet to be preached, and to set them a pattern of virtue and honesty.” If the Illinois mobs had practiced this brand of religion the great “exodus to greatness” would never have been necessary.

July 14 Hosea had an important interview with President Young. The President informed him that as soon as the Battalion marched away he wanted Hosea to organize a military guard. Hosea took this opportunity to inform the President of his economic distress. The President responded sympathetically by ordering 100 pounds of flour and other provisions, which solved that problem for the time being. Thus rewarded for his public service, Hosea was now in a position to render greater service to his fellow man. Immediately he began making plans to move his family across the river, where a new headquarters was to be built.

The move across the river proved to be a major task. His lost oxen had to be found, wagons repaired and packed. The crossing was completed July 31, after suffering a sunstroke which nearly proved fatal. The climb up the west bank nearly exhausted his oxen, which were already weak from hunger. His friend, John Tanner, gave him assistance by using his own teams to pull the wagons up. Near the

top of the hill Hosea met Brigham, who invited him to camp near a spring where his own family had stopped. A large number of the Saints had arrived, so the camp looked like a city of tents. The camp proved to be quite an attraction for the local Indians. Bands of the wild men strolled through the "streets," evidently started by what they saw. Some of these red men were trading green corn for what they considered prized articles. Their sense of values was negative. They gladly offered a large sack of corn for a ring worth less than a dime.

Unsettled as the Saints were at this critical time, there was room for gossip. It seems some people questioned Hosea's standing with President Young. A man's standing in the church at that time depended on his good or bad relations with Brigham. A man was down and out if the President even frowned on him. Some thought Brigham had placed his disapproval on Hosea. John D. Lee was one who thought so, but changed his mind when he saw that Hosea was receiving special favors from the President. Wishing to improve his relations with Hosea, Lee decided to tell him what was being said behind his back. Said Lee, quoted by Hosea:

"Those who had been slandering and prophesying against me are now being put to shame, for my course had been entirely satisfactory to Brigham and the Saints. It was Brigham's intention to restore me to responsible and honorable positions again and prove to those who were my enemies that I was true. This he said he told me for my encouragement."

Hosea was highly disgusted with Lee's story, for he knew he had never lost his standing with Brigham, so a restoration of good graces was not necessary. The alleged slander shows the inner workings of Lee's mind, which eventually destroyed his usefulness in society.

Activity in the camp went in high gear when all began moving to the new camp site. Hosea and his family arrived (August 7) at the new "town" and pitched his tents near those of Brigham. The new camp was situated on the prairie straddling two ridges and was named Cutler's Park.

Each division of the campers formed a hollow square. There was plenty of drinking water available.

The founding of a town necessitated the organization of a local government. It was on a Sabbath (August 9) that a very important meeting took place. The people were given an opportunity to approve or dis-approve the decisions of the authorities. These church leaders had chosen a 12-man municipal High Council with all the powers of a regular High Council, combined with the powers of a city commission. This Council possessed all legislative and judicial powers of a municipality, combined with all ecclesiastical authority of a church body. This Council was under the jurisdiction of the Twelve. Since Brigham Young was the President of the Twelve, that body could be termed a cabinet. On that date, the church members voted unanimously to sustain the actions of the church authorities. The members chosen for the Council were: Alpheus Cutler, president; Andrew Cahoon, Daniel Russell, A. P. Rockwood, J. M. Grant, B. L. Clapp, Winslow Farr, Thomas Grover, Samuel Russell, Ezra Chase, and Cornelius P. Lott. The camp was raised to the dignity of a town by naming it "Cutler's Park." A letter was read to the assembled Saints which had been written to President Polk. This letter stated that the Saints intended to settle in the west and would ask Congress for a Territorial Government when they arrived there. The letter referred to the current rumor of L. W. Bogg's appointment as Governor of California: "Lilburn W. Boggs, peace, and Mormonism never could dwell together." As well expect Satan and a Heavenly Angel to fall in love! This expressed the sentiment current in the camp.

In the same meeting, Brigham announced that a Council House was to be built which would serve as a recreation center, assembly hall, and civic headquarters. The words were hardly out of his mouth when building activities began. One group set out to cut the timbers, another to fence the camp, others began actual construction, while the rest herded the cattle and cared for the camp. Cutler's Park was converted into a beehive of activity. Jonathan C. Wright and Hosea were appointed Sergeants of the Guard. The

two men stood guard over the camp twenty-four hours a day, each serving six hours on duty and six off.

August 11 was moving day for Cutlers' Park; this time to another ridge nearby which would accommodate a larger population. "It presented a most beautiful hollow square with pens for our cattle and horses on the outside." The camp was then divided into two grand divisions, with Brigham at the head of the first and Heber over the second. The first grand division was divided into ten subdivisions, with a Foreman at the head of each. Welcome Chapman was appointed Foreman of the Fourth subdivision, where Hosea served as its clerk.

During this period of change and confusion, the cattle belonging to the camp had taken advantage of the situation to scatter far and wide. This loss caused quite a stir in camp. President Cutler called all able-bodied men to the "colors" for an organized searching party. Groups were sent in all directions. The roundup proved very successful, nearly all the cattle were brought in (August 15).

Another Sabbath was spent in attending services and paying tribute to Him who had preserved their lives in the great exodus. At church services, Brigham recommended that the money sent by the soldiers enroute west be used to purchase supplies at St. Louis at wholesale prices, rather than pay double retail prices at the Bluffs. Some in the camp resisted this policy strongly, but Brigham stood firm for the program that would best serve the public interest.

Hosea received (August 18) an official communication from the Municipal High Council as follows:

"This is to certify that at a council held at Willard Richard's tent, Col. Hosea Stout was appointed to make out a roll of all commissioned officers of the Legion and a roll of all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45, and make report to this council." Due to sickness, Hosea was unable to proceed for several days. When the assignment was done (August 28), he reported 332 privates and 70 officers of the Legion. This survey was accepted by the Council.

Meanwhile James Pace arrived from the Mormon Battalion with the news that Captain James Allen had died at Fort Bent, on the Arkansas. The officers at Fort Leavenworth had no authority to appoint a successor, so the command had fallen on Captain Jefferson Hunt, a member of the Battalion. The message which Pace carried requested advice from the Twelve whether Hunt should receive the appointment. The Twelve decided he should.

Relations with the Indians demanded attention. A dispute arose between the Otto tribe and the Omahas over ownership of the land where Cutlers' Peak was situated. To settle the issue, the Twelve and High Council met with Chief Big Elk, his son Standing Elk, and 70 of his braves. Logan Fontenelle, a half-breed and a well-educated descendant of the Omaha Nation, was used as an interpreter. President Young addressed the Indians as follows:

"We are on our way to California and, getting as far as Council Point, were overtaken by a government officer, calling for men to go as soldiers to Santa Fe. In consequence of parting with so many men, we were left destitute for teamsters. In consequence, we would ask for the privilege of stopping on your lands this winter or until we can get ready to go on again. We want the privilege of cutting timber and sufficient grass for our use. We have the privilege from the government if we can bargain with you. We have, also, mechanics of different kinds who can be of benefit to you in repairing guns. We want to establish a trading house. If we do, will you trade with us? Ask them if they are willing to have us plant and sow this fall and next spring. We want them to understand that we want to live with them as such, our cattle and persons safe. Tell them we are acting under the advice of the government. We will establish schools if they want us to. One thing we should not fail to mention. We bought corn of the Ottos which we afterwards learned belonged to the Omahas. Then we stopped buying."

Big Elk replied:

"I am willing myself and would be glad to have you stay if my grandfather, the President, is willing. As the



Ottos pretend to own this land, I would advise you to settle here without making a bargain with any of them. . . . I have young men that I can lend you if you want help to guard your cattle. . . . There are some few elk and deer at the Bluffs. As you are numerous, I do not want all of them killed off. There is a tribe above here that may come down and do some damage in stealing and killing your cattle. . . . You may stay two years, or until we sell and go away." This satisfied both parties. The meeting ended on a friendly note.

Evidently all Saints are not angels. It was Wilford Woodruff's unpleasant duty to report (September 4) to Hosea that a certain young man was guilty of adultery. Woodruff gave Hosea the unpleasant task of punishing the man. Hosea chose six men as aides, then arrested him. The guilty man lost his poise when he saw the guns and begged for his life. Informed that the officers "must execute their orders," he pleaded not to be tied up for the execution. Consequently preparations were made to shoot him untied. This threat completely unbalanced the prisoner. To ease his emotions, the officers gently informed him that a good whipping would suffice, so 18 hard lashes were administered. The group then proceeded to teach "him the principles of the law and the just punishment for such crimes." The very next day another young man was found guilty of the same crime. He, too, was taken into the woods and given 18 stripes. Before the ordeal was over, he pleaded for mercy:

O Brother Eldridge," he cried, "if you will only stop, I'll never touch another girl again while hell's afloat." When these actions were reported to President Young, he indicated satisfaction and cautioned against undue excitement from those who did not understand the laws and ordinances of the kingdom.

Hosea learned over the grapevine that feelings were at a high pitch in Heber's camp due to these whippings. Anxious to reach the bottom of this discontent, he took Langley and William J. Earl through the camp area where the rumblings were the loudest, "saluting everyone friendly

whom we met. In an hour it was reported that we were after more men to whip. So great was the excitement that some rushed to their wagons and prepared to shoot in case we came. By this means we learned who their accomplices were." Three days later Brigham spoke to the assembled Saints, as reported by Hosea:

"With great power and spirit he adverted to the spirit manifested by some in consequence of the whippings which these boys got. He sustained the whippings and gave them to understand what they might expect if the law of God came and we were disobedient to its mandates; that he meant to watch and nip all such evils in the bud."

A meeting was held in Russell's tent, where Brigham recommended that a company of men leave the following spring for Bear River Valley, where they could build homes and plant crops, then return for their families. Bear River Valley and the Great Valley was conceived as the same place in their imaginations. Fur traders from the Rockies had given conflicting descriptions of the western country.

Life around the campfire had its distractions, as well as its educational stimulations. This was true when Orson Pratt lectured on astronomy. Sunday, September 13, he spoke on the organization of worlds, telling his listeners that there was enough organized matter in the universe to make many millions of worlds as large as the sun. These conclusions sound more like the deductions of a 1950 astronomer than they do from an 1846 exile from the United States.

The supreme objective of the church leaders was to eliminate suffering as far as possible. They did not subscribe to the prevailing doctrine that the wealth of the earth was for the strongest, but practiced the good neighbor policy. This doctrine, which implies that faith without works is dead, was tested when the church leaders dispatched (September 15) ten wagons back to Nauvoo to bring the poor families to the Missouri River. Two beneficiaries of this benevolence were the writer's grandmother and her widowed mother, who would never have seen the valleys of Utah had it not been for the statesmanship of the church leaders.

Distractions and perplexities seemed to be the lot of the church leaders. A report was received (September 16) that the United States Marshall from Missouri was coming with a writ for the Twelve. Another ominous report stated the Secretary of War had instructed the Indian Agent to have all the Mormons removed off the Pottawattany lands by April 1, 1847. A Council of the Twelve discussed the situation but no decisions were made. The Council instructed Hosea to send spies down the river to watch the Marshall's movements. These men discovered army horses fully equipped for instant use. It was believed that they were to be used to kidnap the Twelve. Brigham ordered Hosea to send men down the river to learn the truth. Hosea immediately dispatched Langley and Gilbert Belnap down the east side of the river, while John P. Thomas and L. H. Calkins were sent down the west side to investigate the purposes of the army men. These reports had caused despondency and sadness for the President, who observed that "instead of praying for our enemies we should pray that our enemies and all dissenters might be sent to hell cross-lots."

As noted above, a decision had been made to effect a military organization. Steps were now made (September 22) to have a regimented organization with all officers of the old Legion re-instated with the same rank. President Young was made Lieutenant General, with Col. Rockwood as his aide. Stephen Markham was made Colonel of the Regiment. It was decided to have 16 companies, each with 25 men headed by a captain, one lieutenant and two sergeants, making a total of 400 men. These 16 companies were subdivided into 4 Battalions, each to have 4 companies. Hosea was appointed head of the First Battalion; John Scott, head of the Second; Henry Herriman, head of the Third; and John S. Gleason, head of the Fourth. The four captains of each of the first three Battalions were appointed as follows: First—William M. Alfred, George W. Langley, Welcome Chapman, and James W. Cummings; second—John Tytle, Norton Jacobs, Harrison Burgess, and James M. Flack; third—Alva L. Tippetts, J. M. Grant, Levi Riter, and Augustus Staffords. Immediately after this shuffling was completed, Hosea took his battalion out for practice, where

they learned the Missouri "Danite drill." All the groups were given instructions by Markham, who said the signal for a general alarm would be the firing of a gun. To avoid accidents, he ordered that all caps be removed from guns.

President Young recommended that the camp be moved (September 20) to a more strategic point, three miles from Cutler's Park. The new city was to be situated on a level flat—on top of the second bluff from the river, 55 feet above water level. The bluff had three high points on which Brigham intended to place the artillery to protect the city. This city was to be known as Winterquarters. The people began moving three days later. Hosea selected a site for the Fourth Sub-division which belonged to the First Grand Division. September 25 he moved his own family there. Brigham requested that horsemen be sent out to explore the area for possible weaknesses in the position. Hosea selected L. H. Calkins to head the posse which made the inspection.

A domestic tragedy struck Hosea's household September 26. On that day, Marinda Bennett Stout died in childbirth. The child was also dead on arrival. She had been suffering from dropsy which the doctor said was incurable. This left Hosea with one wife and child. It is believed that Lucretia Fisher had deserted the family by this time (or later) for Hosea never mentions her again in his diary.

A case illustrative of insubordination is related by Hosea: "Col. Markham sent an order to Col. Scott for one of the cannon to be sent Miller. Scott refused to give the cannon up. Markham called out a large force of men to take it by force. Fortunately, Heber C. Kimball happened to discover the difficulty and by his skilled mediation and advice a clash was avoided."

In a sermon delivered October 18, President Young warned the Saints against cattle stealing by the Indians. He advised the formation of a square to more effectively guard against theft by the red men.

The camp of Israel was not without its bad men. At a Council meeting held November 5, the case of Beers, the wife of children beater, was taken up. It was decided that

persons whose "bodies were tabernacles for devils, full of rebellion, ungovernable, wicked, and chronic disturbers of the peace, should have the Law of God put in force on them."

Since Hosea's arrival in camp it had been his responsibility to keep a picket guard around the camp at night. Hosea experienced difficulty in finding men who were willing to stand guard, since there was no compensation for their services. Naturally, little guarding was done. The need for protection was so great that Col. Markham decided (October 10) to do something about it. He sent Hosea a written order to maintain an effective city guard. He wanted four men to watch the first half and four the last half of the night. This order, however, provided no pay for the guards so Hosea experienced the same difficulty in finding men who were willing to work for nothing.

Finally, November 15, the situation had become so bad that a public meeting was called to discuss the problem. At this meeting all expressed dissatisfaction with the old setup. President Young then recommended a regular police guard with compensation. A committee consisting of President Young, Heber C. Kimball and Hosea was chosen to select the guard. At a meeting four days later the new regular Police Guard was organized under the direction of Brigham and Heber. By unanimous consent of those present, Hosea was elected Captain. Other members of the Police Guard were: J. C. Wright, Phineas H. Young, Isaac C. Hight, Peter W. Conover, William Kimball, George W. Langley, S. A. Dunn, James W. Cummings, P. Sessions, Elijah J. Sabin, George D. Grant, Edmund Ellsworth, Lyman Whitney, Augustus Stafford, Garrett W. Mikesell, Tuman H. Calkins, Ira Eldridge, Appleton M. Harmon, Stephen Winchester, Jr., Alvah L. Tippitts, Henry Herriman, Elias Gardner, A. O. Smoot, Hohn D. Parker, and Daniel Carns. Hosea's comment is sharp:

"The system of the 'Old Police,' so much feared, despised, and loved in Nauvoo, is now revived on precisely the same plan with the same men with the same Captain at the head. Those who dreaded us because of their wickedness

may have the same fears now." The organization went into effect immediately, six men standing guard till midnight and six after.

Since moving to the new site, known as Winterquarters, Hosea had spent all his time, outside of police duty, building a "home" for his family—a house twelve feet square. His testimony and thanksgiving is inspiring:

"Tonight (November 24) myself and family had the pleasure of once more sleeping in our own house for the first time since we left Nauvoo, February 9 last, making nine months and fifteen days. During this time, we have undergone almost every change of fortune that could be imagined. One-half of my family, so dear to me, has been consigned to the silent grave. We who yet remain have often been brought to the verge of death. Often in storms and rains I have stood trying to hold my tent from uncovering my sick family—expecting every moment to see them exposed—which would have been certain death. Often I have lain and contemplated my own sickness and feeble situation without food for myself and family and death staring me in the face. I could only contemplate what would become of them in case I was called away. How often I have beheld my family—one by one—yielding up the Ghost, warning me of what may follow. How often in sorrow and anguish, I have said in my heart: 'When shall my trials and tribulations end?' But amid all these adverse changes and heart-crushing trials have I ever regretted that I set out to follow the counsel of God and to obey the spirit to flee from the land of the gentiles. But to return home again, we did not enjoy much comfort tonight, for my house was yet open. The door, windows, and cracks were still open to receive the cold north winds. We were exposed and lay shivering from the cold all night."

Hosea was a man of great faith or he would not have been willing to suffer a hundred deaths for a cause so unpopular. Life in Winterquarters was to be a testing station to try man's faith. Many failed to pass the test and returned to the gentiles to lose their salvation.

A Council meeting was held (November 25) at the house of Horace S. Eldridge, where it was proposed to



divide the wards to make them smaller, so the Bishops could do their work more effectively. More men were recommended to serve as Bishops. Some of the original Bishops when ordained had been Seventies. These "Seventies Bishops" felt they were under no obligation to the High Priest Quorum since they believed the Seventies office was a higher calling than that of the High Priest. To correct this error in doctrine, Brigham Young stepped in and made a new ruling. He laid down the law that such Seventies, if they were to retain their office as a Bishop, must first be ordained a High Priest.

At this same Council meeting a new tithing law was proposed for the people. President Young "moved that every able-bodied man be taxed every tenth day. This labor to be devoted to gathering wood and other necessary services to the poor." The Bishops were given the responsibility for directing this work. The names of the new Bishops called into service were: Ephraim Badger, Luman H. Calkins, Willard Snow, Isaac Clark, Addison Everett, and Thomas Long. Brigham also recommended that the Police receive seventy-five cents a day. Horace H. Eldridge was appointed collector of funds for the Police. A committee was selected to draft an assessment law.

The first known divorce case in camp was settled by Brigham. A man named Beers (mentioned above) who had been guilty of beating his wife, was separated. The wife and children received all the property and \$450. The man was permitted to keep his tools, however, so he could continue to work. Both parties were forbidden to re-marry.

The Police were given an increase in salary on December 4. The Council voted to give the men a small ration of beef. "This," writes Hosea, "greatly relieved us since most of us live on bread and water."

A war between the Omahas and Sioux tribes caused some excitement in camp. A battle (December 9) between these forces resulted in the wounding of several Omahas who took shelter in Winterquarters. Chief Big head was one of them—he lost a thumb in the fight. Three days later, while a group of Omahas were hunting, they were am-

bushed by a large force of Sioux. Only one Omaha escaped. News of this defeat greatly upset the wounded Indians hiding in Winterquarters. They began howling, twisting, and making every gesture of sorrow imaginable. The noise became so unbearable that Brigham stepped in and put a stop to it.

The last days of 1846 witnessed a genuine attempt to achieve a real reformation among the Saints. At a Council meeting in the house of Willard Richards, President Young "reproved the Bishops quite sharply for their negligence of duties and working on the Sabbath." He recommended that a map of the camp be drawn, clerk of Council to keep a list of Bishops; Bishops and Council to meet once a week, and that the Council watch over the Bishops with a fatherly solicitude, taking care that the Bishops in turn do the same toward all members of their wards—no one must suffer. The Council should instruct the Bishops to hold weekly meetings, organize schools, and protect the members from evil influences. The Twelve, Council, and Bishops were "to search this place as with a lighted candle and put down all iniquity. He had an uncommon portion of the Holy Spirit resting on him (Brigham) and was filled with the sublime views of rolling forth this great and mighty work." Two days later, in another council meeting, he continued his theme: "Unless this people humble themselves and quit their wickedness, God would not give them more teachings and that they would continue to slide off. The time would come when those who hold the priesthood will be hunted by those who now call themselves Saints." Elder Kimball added more to the same thought. Said he: "Unless there is a reformation among us I am afraid that God will send a plague among us. I want the Saints to begin a new reformation, have the Holy Ghost in our midst, and not have the Twelve driven from our midst, for if they are it would be the greatest curse that possibly can befall us." Hosea's reaction was sharp: "Both men seemed to be well aware of the murmurings of some and the tendency of others to spread the spirit of insubordination among the people and a fear that some day some might try to overthrow the present organization of the church and drive off the Twelve." Enemies of

the church might use these statements to prove the church already fallen. But be it known that a corrupt, wicked, and sinful people do not permit the preaching of repentance and reform in their midst. A righteous people feel the need for better living and therefore enjoy instruction which aims to correct their weaknesses

In tune with these warnings, President Young issued (December 20) a new challenge to all members to show their true colors:

"The insubordination of some people, their stubbornness, murmurings, complaining, refusal to pay tax and comply with the requirements of the Council must all cease. He warned all such what they might expect when we got far enough to keep them from running back to the gentiles. He would have no more of their grumbling at him. All those who did not intend to abide Council had better flee to the gentiles again. All should help pay tax, support the poor, or leave camp.' This was the Lord's way of separating the true from the false. There were some in the camp who accepted the challenge, packed up and left for the states. Hosea and his family remained in Winterquarters.

J. C. Wright made a report on all taxable property in the camp. It amounted to \$101,550. A committee was selected to fix the percentage to be paid. They recommended  $\frac{3}{4}\%$  on each dollar; this amounted to \$761.12 per year.

Near the end of the year, the Bishops made an interesting report: The population was 3,483. Breaking these figures down, there were 75 widows, 502 men, 386 were sick, 138 men were absent, and 53 women had husbands in the army. Livestock: 145 horses, 29 mules, 388 oxen, and 463 cows. There were 814 wagons, 84 work days for tithing, 83 cords of wood had been cut for tithing, and 561 work days done on the mill-race.

The Police report is valuable: At the end of the year there were 33 active men on the staff, seven men had been added to fill vacancies, namely: John S. Gleason, Allen Joseph Stout, Zebider Coultrin, Graham Coultrin, Welcome

Chapman, Willard Snow, and Benjamin F. Cummings. Of the 33 policemen, says Hosea, only 19 were men who could absolutely be depended on for service. "I have had the good fortune to keep the peace. There has not, to my knowledge, been any dissatisfaction by any of the authorities, nor fears least of all was right. The number of men on guard each night is five before 1 a. m. and five after that hour."

The final council meeting (December 27) of the year was given some interesting suggestions by Orson Pratt. He advised the group to send a pioneer company to the headwaters of the "Running Water" (Missouri River) by early spring, then move over the mountains to the Black Hills and plant a crop of corn near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River. Obviously, the fur traders from whom Orson had obtained his information knew little about the geography of the west.

## 1847

At the beginning of the new year, Hosea gives us a valuable description of camp life at Winterquarters: "The brethren have mostly gotten into their homes. The city is divided into 22 wards, with a Bishop over each. They seem to be doing their duty better than I ever knew a Bishop to do before. The poor are well cared for. The Police Tax is being collected quite well, since most of the people are willing to pay. Those who opposed the tax have fled. These people are trying to raise excitement against us in Missouri. All who have left here against council have had bad luck, they are truly cursed. Our opposition in Missouri is due to the false stories told by these dissenters, otherwise the Missourians are quite friendly. Pork can be purchased for four cents a pound; corn, forty-five cents a bushel; potatoes, one dollar. Had not the Saints been here, the Missourians could not have sold anything, for previous to our coming they had no market for their produce.

The Seventies Quorum have established a willow basket factory and are employing twenty or more persons to good advantage. This gives employment to those who have

no other means of support. Willard Richards has built a house with eight sides, and is called various names, the octagon, the potato heap, coal pit, round house and sometimes the Doctor's Den. Arrangements are being made to send 300 pioneers west before winter breaks, who will proceed to the head of Running Water, then over the mountains to the head of Yellowstone, where they will plant a crop. . . . There is peace in this place, the Saints seem willing to abide council. Some dissent and find fault with every move made, but the lot of these transgressors in Zion is hard. The war with Mexico continues with no sign of termination, thus causing much dissatisfaction in the states. Our livestock is wintering well on the rushes. The weather has been very favorable thus far. Everybody seems to be industriously and usefully employed. The Council decided to build a stockade to keep the Omahas out. The camp has the appearance of a log town, dirt roofs, caves, dugouts and dens are seen everywhere. The town would be hard to set on fire."

Plans for the trek west began to take shape early in January. President Young had previously asked Hosea to accompany the first group west. January 14 he was invited to attend a Council meeting, where the problem of moving was studied. It was on that day that Brigham Young had received the revelation relative to the organization of the companies going west. The plan provided for three companies, each to be presided over by a president, with captains of tens. A proclamation was issued which gave the order of things. It is better known as the last revelation in the Doctrine and Covenants. Hosea was quick to sustain the revelation:

"Such was the word and will of the Lord at this time, which was to me a source of much joy and gratification to be present on such an occasion. My feelings can be better felt than described, for this plan will put to silence the wild bickering from those who are ever in the way of opposing the proper council. They will now have to accept this standard, or come out in open rebellion against the will of God."

Two days later another important Council meeting was held at the house of Horace S. Eldridge, where Hosea was

also invited. The meeting had been called by the President. "The object of the meeting," writes Hosea, "was to lay before the Council the 'Word and Will of the Lord' for their approval or disapproval. The Council received the Revelation with joy and gladness. It is the order of the Priesthood to lay a Revelation before all the authorities, for their sanction, before it is considered binding."

During the last half of January the organization of the west-bound companies was in full swing. Hosea attended a meeting (January 25) where Brigham's Company was organized. Isaac Morley was appointed President, with John Young and Reynolds Cahoon as Councillors. The four Captains of Hundreds were: Daniel Spencer, Edward Hunter, Jedediah M. Grant and Willard Snow. The eight Captains of Fifties were: Jacob Gates, Erastus Snow, Benjamin Brown, James W. Cummings, Ira Eldridge, Benjamin L. Clapp, Joseph B. Noble and James Bird. The following day Hosea was present when Heber's Company was organized: Alpheus Cutler was appointed President, with Winslow Farr and Daniel Russell his Councillors; Captains of Hundreds were: Henry Herriman, Isaac Higbee and Shadrock Roundy; Captains of Fifties: John Pack, George M. Wallace, Levi E. Riter, Milo Andrus, Alvah L. Tippitts, and Harrison Burgess. Many changes in personnel were made, however, before the journey began. At this meeting Heber proposed that the brethren build a house for George Miller, in the event he returned to the Saints and took his place as Bishop. Those present agreed to the suggestion. The idea could not be digested by Hosea:

"This put me in mind of what Brigham said when speaking about Miller's stubbornness and insubordination. Some men have to be coaxed along with a lump of sugar, to keep them from running off to the gentiles and bringing persecution on us. Said he, 'they will yet deny the faith.'"

As Captain of the Guard, Hosea had the unpleasant task of disciplining delinquent policemen. March 5 one of his men had been reported absent from his post. Hosea went to inspect the post and found the man gone. He hastened to the office of Willard Richards, where he found



President Young also. Brigham accompanied Hosea in a search for the absent policeman. They found him at a party. Brigham left instructions and went home. Hosea watched the man until his period on duty had expired, then he went home. At the trial next day the policemen admitted his error and was sharply reprimanded, and advised to do better or face disgrace.

Members of the church paid a high price for their fellowship. This is illustrated by the following story: March 13 J. P. Parker was tried before a group of Seventies for stealing a brace of six-shooters, by using a forged order. Some members of the Quorum wanted him excommunicated for his dishonesty. Hosea advised a more rational solution. Hosea writes: "The man should be kept in fellowship since any man who could stand to live amongst us deserved to be held in fellowship."

In mid-March the plans for the westward journey were nearly complete. A meeting of the Twelve and all Captains met to decide what to do at Winterquarters after the Twelve went west. It was decided to keep the police under the old organization, and be sustained by taxation. The groups going west were to be organized into a military body, with General C. C. Rich as head. He was to be assisted by John Scott, with Hosea as Captain of the Guard. A rule was made which provided that no family be permitted to start unless it could show 300 pounds of food for each person in the family. It was recommended that only small families make the first trip. Brigham later announced that the pioneer company would proceed to the Great Basin without stopping, locate a Stake of Zion, then return to Winterquarters in the fall. The problem of keeping the peace in camp, after the Twelve left, was discussed at a later meeting (March 26). It was decided to place the acts and decisions of the Council before the people for their approval or disapproval, to allay future complications. The Indian problem was discussed also. It was agreed that if any member killed an Indian without good cause, said offender should be given up to the Indians for punishment. President Young warned the Saints that after the Twelve left:

"Men would raise up and complain that the Twelve were not right, that they should lead and govern the people. He (Brigham) knew who they were, and plainly pointed them out." One week later (April 2), Hosea met one of these would-be leaders. It was at the house of Willard Richards, where George Miller was trying to induce the Twelve to move to Texas. Miller proposed the settlement of the area between the Rio Grande and Nueces Rivers. He claimed these lands could be secured from Mexico by treaty. The Twelve proved to be better posted on conditions in that region than Miller. They produced evidence to show that the area in question was then in dispute, between the United States and Mexico, and that it was then a battle ground between the two armies. Miller was finally convinced that his plan was impractical, so he gracefully abandoned the idea.

The day before the departure of the pioneers (April 6) the General Conference was held. The Twelve were unanimously sustained, except Lyman Wight, who had previously been dropped. The First Council of Seventy was likewise sustained. Members of the High Council were also approved, except Samuel Russell, who was dropped because he was a Seventy. He was replaced by Phineas Richards. Bishop Whitney was approved.

When the train of pioneers left Winterquarters for the new Zion it went without Hosea. He gives no reason in his diary for his failure to go. That he had already been appointed Captain of the Guard is well known. Brigham decided that Hosea would be more useful in camp. Future events seem to sustain this view. The writer is convinced Brigham had a good reason for asking Hosea to remain. The answer is found in William Clayton's Journal for April 11, 13, and 14. It seems that Hosea and William Clayton were bitter enemies. The writer believes that William Clayton was just as good a man as Hosea, and that the difficulties between them were due to weaknesses in both men. William's Journal reveals the fact that the two men had clashed, and that reconciliation was impossible. To quote William directly: April 11, 1847, pages 73, 74, he says: "I told Winslow Farr concerning Hosea Stout's threats to

take my life after the Twelve are gone. He (Farr) called at night on his return from the Council, and told me to be on my guard." April 13: "In the evening, I went to the store and told Brigham and Heber about Hosea Stout's calculations." April 14: "Brigham ordered me to start with the pioneers." From these excerpts it is plain that Brigham did not take sides in this controversy, but cleverly prevented a clash by separating the men. He tactfully told Hosea that Winterquarters would need a strong Captain of the Guard in the absence of the Twelve. At the same time he, Brigham, invited William to be the historian of the pioneers, which he executed perfectly.

After the pioneers had gone the people left behind settled down into a monotonous wait. Hosea continued as Captain of the Guard, but its membership had been cut in half, as well as its pay. The cut in compensation soon destroyed the usefulness of the guard. There were no provisions made for the police to receive more payments. "It appeared," writes Hosea, "that we were likely to do duty all summer for nothing." A Council meeting was held April 12 to settle the issue. It was decided to keep the police, and levy another tax to pay them.

An Epistle from the Twelve was read (April 18) in Council meeting:

"We have now completed the organization of the pioneer company, which we are to lead over the mountains, in search of a resting place for ourselves, families, and all who desire to follow us, and work righteousness. By doing this we prove to you, and all the world, that we do not wish to be a whit behind the first of you in leaving wife, children, friends, or any of the enjoyments of social life. We are willing to take a full share of troubles, trials, losses, crosses, hardships, fatigues, and watchings for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. We feel to say: Come calm, strife, turmoil, peace, life or death, in the name of Israel's God, we mean to open up the way for the salvation of the honest in heart from all nations. If we fail in the attempt, having done all we could, our Father will not leave His flock without a Shepherd. . . . The business of the Saints at Winter-

quarters, from this time, is to journey west. Some will have the means to go forward when the spring grass comes, others will have to stop and raise grain to carry with them. All preparations and organizations are for the purpose of journeying west, not for a permanent settlement at Winterquarters. If any refractory member should make his appearance the Bishops will see that justice is done, so let no iniquity have place in your midst. Let the brethren labor unitedly in making fields, fences, planting, harvesting, all under the direction of their respective Captains of Tens and Fifties, who are under the supervision of the Captains of Hundreds and Presidents, who will allot to each family all the ground needed. The idler shall not eat the bread of the laborer, therefore, let a record be kept by the Captains of each Ten, how each man employs his time from day to day. Let the same be reported weekly to the Clerk of the division. Let one tenth of the entire results of each man's labor be appropriated for the benefit of the poor and sick under the direction of the Bishops. The poor ye have always with you, and the sick often, and he who administers to them serveth the Lord.

"Your crops and cattle will be exposed to the aggressions of the Omahas, and we say to you, take care of them, learn to watch as well as pray, for the farther you go west the more you will be exposed. If the Saints cannot watch them safely here, what will they do when they get where civilization is unknown? Make good fences around your corn fields. Locate families near enough to watch and keep them safe. Let the emigrants be diligent and careful to plow, plant and fence all they possibly can before they start west.

"We advise the brethren to keep up a police force, using their most effective men, for in an hour ye think not evil may be upon you. Pay them for their services so that they will not be obliged to neglect your safety. It is highly important in this dispensation that every brother learns his duty and acts accordingly. Everyone who can should pay his herdsman in money, flour or grain as needed. This will aid both to make the journey west.

"It is our wish and council that the Emigration Company now formed shall follow the pioneers as soon as the grass is sufficient to support the teams. The Presidents and Captains will examine every soul that goes in said company, to see if he is provided with from 300 to 500 pounds of bread stuff. We do not know whether we can raise corn beyond the mountains this summer or not. Let the first company take with them as many of the sisters whose husbands are in the army, as can fit themselves out.

"It is wisdom that all men in the company shall be organized into a military body, under their respective Captains of Tens, Fifties, and Hundreds, with Charles C. Rich as their commander-in-chief. He will see that every man is properly armed and ready to meet any savage attack at a moment's warning. The first company will carry the Temple bell which will ring at daylight calling all to prayers, another bell for breakfast, and a third for departure. If any man acts disorderly, punish him severely.

"Whenever a company of 75 men shall be organized to carry out the principles of the word of the Lord and these instructions according to pattern with sufficient provisions to sustain each soul for 18 months, they may come on till the first of July. In all cases the brethren must run their own risk for food, not depend on the advance pioneers for support. We are informed that over thirty souls of the Oregon immigrants have perished (probably the Donner Party) in the mountains last year because of hunger."

Signed: BRIGHAM YOUNG, *President*

WILLARD RICHARDS, *Clerk*

At this same council meeting where the above Epistle was read, the Indian problem was considered. In spite of their promises, the Omahas had been making raids on the Saints' cattle. The savages had used every stratagem in the book, exercised the most clever cunning to drive off the cattle. The Council decided to send a committee to Big Chief Elk to find the reason for the raids. The committee was headed by Alpheus Cutler, and included Daniel Spencer, C. P. Lott, and W. W. Phelps. Their objective was to stop

the stealing, peaceably if they could, but forcefully if necessary. Two days later Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor met with the Bishops, where a plan to herd the cattle was worked out. It was decided that each Bishop have all the cattle in his ward placed in one herd, appoint a captain of herders, arm the guards with guns to more effectively protect the cattle. Hosea was instructed to take a posse and scour the country for hiding Omahas. This order was carried out.

The committee named to interview Chief Elk made their report, April 22. Big Elk admitted he had sent his braves to steal cattle but was willing to quit, providing the Mormons would pay the price. His price for peace was two hundred dollars worth of corn. Miller, the Indian Agent, was holding \$200 worth of corn from the Indians. Big Elk promised to stop the raids on the Mormons' cattle if the Mormons would induce Miller to release the corn to the Indians. Before the Council could decide to accept Big Elk's offer new factors changed the situation. A more friendly tribe of Indians appeared on the scene. The Otto Chief, Captain Caw, came into camp and wanted to make a deal. Said he, "We are friends, stay as long as you want to." He claimed the land west of the Missouri River, so the Omahas had no right to it. He did not want the Saints to pay for its use. He manifested hard feelings toward the Omahas for killing the cattle. He promised none of his men would harm the Mormons. After this interview the Council found it unnecessary to make a deal with Big Elk. A wiser course was to let the Indian tribes try to out-bid each other for Mormon favors.

Indian troubles were not the greatest dangers to the peace of the Saints. The apostates in camp were more dangerous. They had refused to make their contributions to the police, although they had benefited by its protection. These disillusioned souls packed up and left Winterquarters in large numbers. They made no provision for paying their delinquent police taxes before leaving. Horace S. Eldridge and Hosea were instructed by the Council to have Higbee, the operator of the ferry, to stop these deserters from crossing until the tax was paid. Protests were loud and fierce when the deserters were stopped at the river. Life at Winterquar-



ters had proved a great test of faith. The wheat was being separated from the tares.

In compliance to President Young's advice, the land adjacent to the camp was divided (April 29) among those willing to plant and raise gardens. The size of the lots depended on their willingness to build fences. Those willing to build more fences were given more acreage. Enough land was assigned to build a fence 1200 rods long.

The Saints had committed themselves to a strenuous program. Their very existence depended on a willingness to co-operate as a united community. Unfortunately, the morale of a few members was weak. Parley P. Pratt, in a Sabbath day sermon (May 9), referred to the "stupidity of the people in observing the instructions of the Twelve, their heedlessness in exposing their cattle to the Omahas." He disclaimed reports that he had given counsel which conflicted with Brigham's policy. He injected so much enthusiasm into the project that the people voted unanimously to: Obey council, work in unison, follow the pattern set by the Twelve, and remain in camp till the stockade was completed. Agreement was reached to watch the cattle more closely and appoint a company of Rough Rangers to ride the prairies to prevent the Omahas from stealing the cattle. Hosea was appointed Captain of the riders.

The day following a busy day was spent organizing and preparing for spy work in the hills. About seven miles from camp the posse discovered some lurking Indians headed straight for the Bluffs. Hosea dispatched two of his men to warn the cattle herders. The remainder kept their eyes on the Indians from the hill-top. The men braced themselves for a bloody fight, which they saw was inevitable. When the Indians reached a dangerous distance, Hosea gave the order to charge. They all dashed down the hill for a life-and-death struggle with the red men. They were happily surprised to meet Chief Caw and his Otto braves. Caw was delighted to meet Hosea and gave him a cordial salute. After an exchange of friendly chatter, both groups rode into Winterquarters. Anxious to make friends with the Otto tribe, the Saints killed an ox for their supper, gave them a big breakfast, then gave them another ox to take home.

Hosea and his Rangers continued their prairie patrolling, always on the watch for lurking Omahas. His force gradually grew smaller since the public failed to support them. Hosea appealed to the authorities for material aid but received no satisfaction. Finally, when the number was reduced to four (May 18), he dismissed them but instructed them to be ready in case the public reacted favorably. This left Hosea alone, so with his gun and horse he started out to look for Indians. He had not gone far when he met John Taylor. Taylor curiously asked about the rest of the Rangers. When he learned the truth, he asked that all the Rangers be called out, which was done. Elder Taylor then joined the Rangers in a day-long search for lurking Indians. His influence was so strong that a large group of volunteers joined up. The Council did its part by voting an increase in salary, which proved an excellent morale builder.

A few days later (May 25) the Rangers saw a party of Omahas who were headed straight for Winterquarters. Hosea recognized that six of the horses in their possession were animals that had been stolen from camp. Hosea and his men hastened to intercept them. The red men were permitted to proceed toward camp until a point one mile from the stockade was reached; then the Indians were stopped and prevented from going further. These Indians had been so treacherous in their conduct that Parley had given Hosea orders not to let them enter camp. Learning of this order, the Indians were highly insulted. Storming and shouting did them no good. Finally, when they recognized defeat, they began to show signs of peace. An expression of conciliation began to show all over their faces. After some reluctance Hosea consented to let young Elk and two of his men take the stolen horses into camp and try to have a peace talk with Parley. Hosea sought out Parley and explained his reasons for permitting young Elk into camp. Elk had manifested genuine token of friendliness toward the Saints. Parley, however, refused to talk to or even see young Elk. He instructed Hosea to tell the Indians that the leaders were very angry and wanted nothing more to do with them. Hosea then spoke to John Taylor, whose attitude was more friendly. Taylor referred Hosea to Lott and John Smith. When the

Smiths learned the details they, too, refused to deal with the Indians. This rebuff greatly agitated Hosea. Said he: "If the authorities want nothing to do with the Indians then neither do I." John Taylor overheard this remark and did something about it. He interviewed the Smiths and Parley, and came out with a solution. Lott was sent with Hosea to make an agreement with the Indians. The two groups met, formed a circle, and began a peace conference. Young Elk began the fireworks by stating he was ready to hear what the pale-faces had to offer. Lott Smith, speaking for the whites, angrily replied that "we had said all we had to say and if they would not live up to their agreements there was no use talking." After more charges and counter-charges, young Elk stood up and coolly related that his father had sent him to bring the stolen horses into camp and thereby make it possible to conclude a peace settlement. He resented strongly being stopped on the prairie "like wild beasts" without an opportunity for a hearing. His pride had been severely wounded when guarded into town to offer peace, deliver the stolen horses and made a pledge that no more would be taken. He related his difficulties in persuading his own people to give up the horses (implying strong opposition in his tribe), but, said the young brave: "Let all that pass so we can have peace from this time." His words were very sharp at this point and full of implications.

Said he: "If the big, red-headed Chief (meaning Brigham) were here it would not be so. He would have taken them in, fed and spoken friendly to them. They (the Indians) would not have stopped the meanest of our (white) men from coming into their village, much less our Chiefs and braves." This speech was received favorably by the whites. Even Lott Smith's anger had cooled. The Indians wanted a definite answer and presents so that the big Chief would be convinced of the white's intentions. Neither Hosea nor Lott could give a definite promise, but agreed to take his message to the white Chief. This partly satisfied the red men, as the groups parted.

The day arrived (June 5) for the Omahas to return and ratify the peace terms. Hosea headed a group which met

the Indians six miles from camp. There were 80 braves in Elk's company. The warriors were received according to the Danite system of horsemanship. The Indian Chiefs had told their braves that Hosea was a war chief, so they all rushed forward to shake his hand. In the evening a meeting between the white and red chiefs took place. All provisions of the treaty were confirmed by Old Elk. This settlement ended all differences between the two races, hostility was replaced by friendly feelings. A large feast was given to celebrate the arrival of peace. Old and Young Elk were special guests at the home of Hosea.

John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, and a large company of Saints left Winterquarters June 12 for the Valley. Previously, June 5, Hosea had been told, unofficially, that he was to go as Captain of the Guard. He interviewed leaders of the group, but none could tell him definitely whether he was to go or not. Naturally, under these circumstances, he made no preparations to go. Three days after the company left Hosea received a communication from P. P. Pratt and John Taylor:

"The Council here voted unanimously that Hosea Stout be made our Captain of the Guard. We will sustain him both temporally and spiritually. We expect to see Hosea at this place in 24 hours from the time he receives this notice." Hosea's reaction was violent and swift:

"The above speaks for itself. I had tried to find out about going but none would notice me. Now, after Elder Rich had given me a written certificate showing that I was ready to go, no appointment came to authorize me to make the trip—hence no preparations. I am now cited to mount my horse, leave home as a run-away, and leave my family without means for their support. Their blank promise to sustain me is weak indeed. These orders looked like oppressive nonsense. They excited my feelings to the highest pitch. I felt insulted, abused, and neglected. I did not intend to comply, but lest it was I who was wrong, I postponed my decision until morning."

Obviously someone had made a blunder of the first magnitude. Those who went in the company were notified

well in advance that they were to make the journey. In fairness to Hosea, couldn't he have been notified also? The order to jump on his horse and leave on short notice, thus leaving his family, was downright mean! The person responsible deserved a severe reprimand. In justice to Hosea it can be said he had the courage to say "no." When Hosea arrived at the Council meeting that eveningg he overheard some critical comments on his action: "Perhaps I had reasons for doing as I did—but he wouldn't have done it for kingdoms." At the meeting Hosea obtained permission to speak his mind, where he let off "my feelings uncommonly plain, denouncing the course taken against me by the authorities, and held up to view the departure from Brigham's instructions to the gaze of all present. No one dared to say anything against me when finished, so I stood justified." Orson Hyde, who was in the chair, concluded it was better for Hosea to stay, since his services were needed. Orson was a man who knew how to mix common sense with inspiration.

Orson Hyde was indeed a man of inspiration as well as a man of moral leadership. He had an opportunity to display his firmness in the bogus sermon (June 20). In strong language he denounced all thieves and counterfeiters, and appealed to all who knew who these people were to report same to the authorities, that this wicked practice could be stopped. His remarks caused quite a sensation in camp. Some of the guilty did come forth and confess their sins. That Saints could be counterfeiters is most shocking. The temptation to forge the silver dollar in 1847 was far greater than it is in 1950. The dollar at that time could purchase ten times the goods that it can now. Still we are plagued by counterfeiters!

In the absence of civil law, some form of discipline was necessary to enforce the moral law. The council, which was a civil legislative and Church court combined, found it necessary to administer justice when moral conduct threatened the peace. John H. Blazzard was arraigned (June 27) before this court and found guilty of wrestling an ox from the custody of the guard by force. "He was fined two dollars," writes Hosea, "not as a precedent in such cases, but to prove that a man could be fined for rebellion."

Hosea notes the arrival (July 14) in Winterquarters of Daniel H. Wells, and manifest a feeling of surprise that Daniel should even return to the body of the Saints. "All seemed well with him now," observes Hosea, but what is the meaning of this mystery? The writer is indebted to Bryant S. Hinckley for an explanation. Bryant, in his excellent biography of Daniel, explains that it was the wife of Daniel who caused the trouble. She had refused to join the church, or accompany her husband west. Daniel was placed in a tight spot. He was forced to choose between living with his wife, or quitting the church. His conscience led him to leave wife and family and go west with the church.

Hosea had family troubles, too, but of a different character. Louisa, his only living child, died August 5. "This," writes Hosea, "seemed to complete the dark curtain which has been drawn over me since I left Nauvoo. My family then consisted of seven members, and now but two." He had buried three children and one wife. A third wife had deserted him. Life in the Stout family had required greater sacrifices than Lucretia Fisher had been willing to pay. Her youth probably explains her unwillingness to remain in the family.

Law enforcement officers are often called upon to perform unpleasant tasks. One of Hosea's duties was to enforce the rules covering the stray pen. Henry Phelps attempted to take his horse from the stray pen by force. Hosea found it necessary to use force to prevent him. The incident caused quite a commotion in the camp against the police. Henry, an obstreperous, imprudent and rebellious youth, had threatened the police several times, because they had crossed his path. Hosea reported the affair to President Cutler, who approved his action.

A party of Indians made a raid (September 8) on President Young's farm, and escaped with all his horses and mules. President Morley advised Hosea to dispatch a posse of men to investigate. Brothers Calkins and Cummings were given that assignment. Hosea attempted to organize another posse to capture the stolen animals. He experienced great difficulty in finding men who were willing to go. The morale of the men appeared to be completely broken. Some



sinister force seemed to be operating against the police. It was discovered that Benjamin L. Clapp had made a bitter speech against the enforcement policies of the police. The talk had a demoralizing effect on public opinion, even causing violent conflicts in the community. The Council met (September 12) to wrestle with the problem. These brethren decided to ask William Cox to make a public speech that would rebuild public morale and unity. Elder Cox's talk did all that and more, for a better spirit prevailed henceforth.

Camp life was stern and harsh, but it also had its humorous side. Hosea and four others were (September 13) reconnoitering for Indians, when Levi North, frightened out of his wits, approached them. Too confused to talk, he used signs to say the Indians were chasing him. At that moment the "Indian" whom he thought was after him rode up. It was Brother Calkins, who was highly amused at North's expense. The riders then joined in a good old western laugh.

The Council knew how to discipline the little law-breaker, but when a member of the Council broke a law he helped to create—that was embarrassing. Daniel Russell knowingly allowed his horse to run loose in one of the corn fields. Even after the violation was brought to his attention he permitted the horse to remain in the corn field. Hosea then ordered Elias Gardner to take the horse to the stray pen. It was late in the evening, so Gardner put the horse in his own stable, intending to take it to the pen the next morning. Early the next morning a son of Daniel Russell took the horse from Gardner's stable and was enroute home when he met Elias Gardner. The Russell boy became very abusive, called Gardner a thief. Gardner then reported the boy's conduct to Daniel Russell himself. The boy confessed to the name calling, but the father's attitude was not what it should have been. He reprimanded the boy for calling names, but justified him in taking the horse. He then threatened Gardner's life if he attempted to take the horse to the stray pen. Gardner immediately reported the affair to Hosea and Cutler. Hosea was convinced it was time to have a

showdown. Said he, "When members of the Council can threaten the police for enforcing laws which they themselves have made, it's time for an understanding." The issue was hotly debated in five sessions of the Council before Daniel Russell finally made a full confession, and asked forgiveness. He was then dropped from the Council (October 2).

Indian raids and cattle stealing kept the police alerted during the month of September. Good news was received October 3, when P. H. Young rode into camp. He reported that the "pioneers had found a location in the valley, laid out a city, built a wall, and that all was doing well there." The following day the sound of artillery could be heard in the direction of Elk Horn, so the people concluded the Twelve were returning. A party headed by Hosea rode out to make investigation, but no trace of life could be found.

Scouts from the camp reported (October 6) troop movements near Belvue. This intelligence induced the leaders to call a Council meeting. The brethren concluded the army movements endangered the safety of the Twelve, who were thought to be returning to Winterquarters. The Council decided to send a well armed bodyguard west to meet the Twelve. Hosea was appointed to head this group. Two days of preparation was necessary before a start could be made. Leaving the guard in the hands of his brother Allen, Hosea and fifteen others started out, October 8. The personnel of the group included: G. D. Grant, G. G. Potter, G. W. Langley, William Kimball, Jacob Frazier, W. J. Earl, W. Meeks, W. Martindale, W. Huntington, L. H. Calkins, J. W. Cummings, S. S. Thornton, L. Nickerson, J. H. Glines, and C. Whitney. The first night they camped on the Horn.

The journey west was a struggle against many physical obstacles. They passed Liberty Pole, Shell Creek, crossed Beaver River and went through a Pawnee village. The sixth day (October 14) they saw a long train of wagons on the opposite side of the river, whom they believed to be their brethren. They fired a shot as a salute, then advanced to meet them in the middle of the Platte. "Our meeting was joyful for we now got to hear from the valley. We were dis-

appointed to learn that they were not the main body, but only an advance group sent ahead to lay up buffalo meat for the main body." (It was learned later that this advance group had violated their instructions by failing to secure the meat, and instead had proceeded rapidly on, leaving those behind to shift for themselves.) Hosea's story continues: "They informed us that the President and his company were attacked by the Sioux and robbed of eighty horses. We should meet them in forty miles unless they had gone back to the valley. The leaders in this contemptible act of desertion were John Pack and William Clayton, but the main body of this group were true and faithful Saints who viewed this treacherous act in its true light. One might imagine our feelings of joy, anger and surprise on meeting and receiving this intelligence."

The very sight of William Clayton in this company was enough to raise the blood pressure in Hosea's body. His antagonism for William was naturally reflected in his diary, where his charges are emotionally exaggerated. William Clayton makes a note of this incident in his "Journal" (page 373): "We saw a company of horsemen and two wagons on the other side of the river, which we soon recognized to be our brethren from Winterquarters. The company is a part of the old police, going to meet the next company. We were gladdened with the news they brought from Winterquarters." Hosea was wrong in placing any blame on William for the responsibility of any wrong-doing should have been charged to John Pack, if William's Journal is true. Says William, page 366, "John Pack has disgraced himself in the estimation of many, within the past few days. I do not think I can ever forgive his treatment of me, but I cherish no malice or feelings of revenge, and I hope and pray that I may forever have wisdom to keep from under his power."

Hosea and his men "started west in search of the main body whose safety was much in doubt." They passed through the Bluffs, "a barren country of sand hills and mounds." The night was spent at Prairie Creek, which was one of "sadness and gloom. Not knowing where the Twelve were or what had become of them," was very depressive in-

deed. "Perhaps they were broken down, robbed of all their animals, coming slow on foot and completely exhausted. We sat pondering over these things. Some of our company were sick. While in this melancholy mood Bishop Calkins took me aside and said he felt like he wanted to speak in tongues, which he said was an uncommon thing for him." Hosea responded by calling all the men together to listen to the Bishop speak in tongues. The Bishop then gave an interpretation. Said he: "The mission was of God, who was protecting it. The Lord has turned away our enemies from us; we must press on and be faithful, for our eyes shall see those whom we sought and return to our homes in peace." This interpretation greatly stimulated the men to a greater determination to find the Twelve, even if it meant going all the way to the Valley. "This," writes Hosea, "was a singular circumstance, for there was not one of us who was given to enthusiastic notions as is so common with some. But now we all felt an assurance that we would realize what had been spoken."

Onward twelve more miles brought them to Wood River, where they found S. H. Goddard lying asleep alongside the road. When awakened, he became frightened, believing he was being attacked by the Pawnees. He reported the main company several days in his rear. This satisfied Hosea and his men, who were now more confident of their mission. A few miles on the party met Amasa Lyman, who gave them more encouragement. The next two days the party put 51 miles behind them.

It was October 18 when they first saw the pioneers approaching. Their train was four miles long, some were walking, others were riding horses. Hosea and his men formed a line at right angles to the road, placed the two wagons in the center, and marched straight toward the oncoming pioneers, passing many till they met the Twelve. There the line halted, broke, every man rushing to meet his friends. "It is useless," says Hosea, "for me to attempt to describe this meeting. We were all in a perfect state of ecstasy of joy and gladness. The pioneers were worn down with fatigue, hunger, and anxiety for the welfare of their families

and church. Many of their horses had to be lifted up due to weakness and starvation. All our feelings and anxieties were now gone, we gave ourselves up to the enjoyment of being with them. We were ready to assist them with everything we had. Brigham said it was more joy and satisfaction to meet us than to meet a company of angels, for we enabled them to hear from their families. The two companies combined, then the journey back to Winterquarters began.

A fireside social was interrupted that evening when Thomas Woolsey rushed into camp and reported the presence of 500 Pawnees on Grand Island. He expressed great concern for his companions whom he believed were in danger. President Young dispatched Hosea and five others to their rescue. The hunters were located the next day near the Bluffs. They had several buffalo on their pack-horses enroute to camp. That evening a big buffalo barbecue was held. Wilford Woodruff served as chief waiter. "This," writes Hosea, "was the first pure hunter's meal I ever ate. It was surprising how much we could eat at one single meal."

When a disagreeable task was to be done Brigham knew who to call on. Ten dollars was stolen (October 20) from a man named Kellog. The victim knew which wagon the thieves traveled in, but could not identify the individual responsible. Hosea was authorized by the President to search the wagon for the money "if we had to tear their clothes to strings." The wagon was stopped, and its occupants informed of the search. The driver of the wagon pleaded innocent and offered to be searched to prove it. George D. Grant found the two gold coins in the man's knapsack after he had previously denied the bag contained any money. When he saw Grant with the coins he claimed they were his own. Grant, however, gave the money to Hosea, who in turn gave them to the owner. This embarrassing incident proves that not all members of the church were Saints.

Eight days later, the company met (October 30) President Cutler with 14 wagons of provisions and even whiskey!

"We had a most joyful meeting. Many of the pioneers had subsisted on buffalo meat for months so when this supply of food came they couldn't quit eating." One day later the travelers arrived in Winterquarters, where they began a six and a half months of preparation for another western journey.

When a Bishop exercises unrighteous dominion, he automatically disqualifies himself as a judge. This truth is well illustrated by Hosea's experience in church courts. Hosea and his brother Allen were driving cattle to the stray pen when Charles W. Patten, the owner, tried to rescue them by force. "The result," says Hosea, "was quite a knock down." Patten then made a formal protest to the Bishop's court and charged falsely that Allen and Hosea had made the attack on him. The trial was held November 21, before Bishop Clark. As soon as the charges were read the Bishop, without giving Hosea a chance to testify, declared Hosea's conduct "outrageous and entirely wrong." He utterly refused to hear Hosea's most important witness, declaring it unnecessary. The Bishop's two councilors, however, disagreed with him. They believed the two policemen were entitled to a fair trial. The Bishop persisted in his opinion and demanded that Hosea make a full confession, and pay a three dollar fine. This Hosea refused to do, then appealed the case to the Council. This body had a higher sense of justice. Both sides were permitted to give testimony. John L. Butler, who falsely testified against the policemen, was found guilty of perjury. Hosea and Allen were exonerated. After the trial, Brigham addressed the court:

"The Council did right in sustaining the police in maintaining law and order, for in the day we give back our right to rule we would be run under foot." Anarchy is the real name for such a state of society. Brigham really proved he was a wise statesman when he uttered those words.

The Journal History of the Church, under date of November 30, mentions a Council meeting, but gives no details. Students of church history will have to turn to Hosea's diary for that date to learn the truth. He reveals details which are



shocking. Saints, as well as sinners, were involved in the discussions of that date. The principles were H. B. Jacobs and W. W. Phelps, who confessed they erred both in doctrine and conduct. President Young, after hearing their admissions, concluded they had sinned, and recommended they be cut off from the church. This action was taken nine days later (December 9). At that meeting W. W. Phelps showed a genuine spirit of repentance, and was permitted to be re-baptized. Brigham's toleration and magnanimity in this case was vindicated, for Phelps' life and usefulness in later years fully justified the generous treatment he received.

During the middle of December two groups of Battalion members returned to Winterquarters. These men had suffered great hardships in their rapid march across the plains. At Loup Fork they had been held up for ten days by the floating ice.

The last great event of 1847 was the General Conference of the Church. The First Presidency was reorganized. At the first session, December 24, held at Miller's Point, Orson Pratt spoke on the need for a First Presidency. He pointed out that "God had seen proper to govern the Church by the Twelve, since the death of Joseph, that He could govern by whatever authority He saw proper — even by Teachers or Deacons. There was a time when the Church was governed by the Lesser Priesthood. But now the Lord has manifested by his Spirit that it is best to appoint a First Presidency, so that the organization of the Church might be perfected, thus enabling the Twelve to spread the Gospel abroad." "His sermon was received," writes Hosea, "with breathless silence, the Spirit of the Lord was enjoyed by all." At a later session, the authorities were sustained, all quorums of the Priesthood were set in order, and officers selected to preside over them.

On the last day the new First Presidency was announced and unanimously sustained. Brigham Young, President; Heber C. Kimball, First Counselor; and Willard Richards, Second Counselor. "The best of feelings prevailed and the Spirit rested down on the congregation to an uncommon degree."

The last day of the eventful year did not pass unnoticed. "The year is passed and gone," writes Hosea, "what is our fate for the next?"

## 1848

The new year was celebrated at a party where the police were the special guests. Some members of the camp did not know when to quit celebrating, for three hours later the police had to be called in to restore order. The police confiscated several barrels of whiskey, to prevent them from being sold by unauthorized persons. The law provided that only Bishops handle distilled beverages. Several had refused to give up their liquors, so Hosea and his men carried out an old-fashioned raid. Five barrels of the poison were confiscated. Obviously some of the members who called themselves Saints were not converted to the Word of Wisdom.

The morale of the police reached a new low during the late winter months. The destitute police found it difficult to serve the public without compensation. The people who were equally destitute found it difficult to pay the police without an income. Brigham Young did his best to solve the problem. He issued a proclamation to the people, stressing the need for an effective police force. His statement is a classic description of life at Winterquarters:

"The Council, in their deliberations for the welfare of Israel, have concluded to lay before you, by way of petition, a laconic statement of our situation, and respectfully invite your attention to the same. It is well known to you the circumstances under which the great body of the Church located here, the many inconveniences and privations we have suffered, through being huddled together in such large numbers, having the great majority of the poor and destitute thrown on our hands, the many families of our brethren to care for (who for the temporal salvation of this people, enlisted in the Battalion and went to California), the public burdens consequent upon our peculiar situation, the large number of able-bodied men drawn from this camp to serve

as pioneers to the west, the many heavy losses sustained, due to Indian depredations and destruction of our cattle, all these things have contributed largely to the impoverishment, dependency and helplessness of our people. One of our Bishops has 301 persons dependent on him for their daily food. Those who have grown crops here are forced to either go on to the mountains, or cross the Missouri and begin anew. Taking all these things into consideration, having a public burden amounting to \$800 due the police (which we are unable to discharge), we deem it necessary to deputize a committee from the police force to visit your branches, lay before the brethren their situation, and receive such donations as the brethren may be disposed to give in horses, wagons, cows, clothing or produce—an accurate record to be kept.

“The brethren, in making this petition, realize that the comparative advantageous circumstances which surround you will warrant you in being liberal and benevolent. This will equalize the load, so that we may be one in all things. We trust that you will show, by your hearty response to this petition, that you are willing to bear equal burdens with us, and sacrifice for the Gospel’s sake. Hoping that this petition will be received by you with the attention and exertion the case requires.” This paper was signed by nine members of the High Council: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Newell K. Whitney, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, George W. Harris, and James Whitehead.

If this appeal couldn’t reach the hearts of the people, nothing could. There were no threats of compulsion behind the petition. The people were given their liberty to accept or reject the plan for security in the camp. The road back to the states was wider and better traveled than the road up the Platte River, but few took advantage of it. For good reasons they preferred to remain, huddled up in their mud houses, preferring the physical torture to a life of ease and a smitten conscience!

The police force was more than an agency to keep the peace. It served as an intelligence unit also. As Captain of the Guard, Hosea kept his ear close to the ground, so he

knew what the people were thinking. The contents of this underground gossip did not contribute to the health of the social body. To Hosea these idle tales were "seditious." These "rebellious" sentiments worried him intensely. He first approached George W. Harris with the delicate subject. George agreed the seditious threats should be crushed. Harris contacted other members of the Council and suggested a secret police hearing. The response was unsatisfactory. These members believed the police should handle the situation themselves. This indifference spurred Hosea to bring the issue to a head. Later at a High Priests meeting where several Council members were present, Hosea exposed, to the astonishment of those present, the ugly collusions of the "underworld." So shocking were his revelations that a police hearing was set for January 21. At this meeting Hosea made a most unusual report. Other policemen substantiated his charges. Writes Hosea, the Council "did not suspect how matters were doing. They decided we had not sounded a needless alarm." They recommended that charges should be preferred against those guilty of using seditious language against the authorities. The Council was determined to put a stop to the rebellion. Three days later the defendant was tried. The case caused some excitement. The "court house" was crowded to the "rafters." The charges were fully sustained. President Harris handed down his decision and fined the defendant one hundred dollars. President Young then proposed to Hosea that he withdraw the charges, which he did. The President then made one of his famous speeches, in which he taught the importance of respect for authority and obedience to the principles of the Gospel. His tact in reprimanding was brilliantly demonstrated in this case. "The dark cloud of dissatisfaction and murmuring was, for the time, dispelled."

The coldest day of the winter came on January 30, the very day Elizabeth, his sister-in-law, died. She left two sons and a daughter just five days old. The cold weather was a contributing cause for her failure to recover. Hosea attended the funeral held in Allen's mud hut, where Heber C. Kimball delivered an inspiring sermon, filled with sympathy and comfort. Allen needed all the consolation one could give,

for he was left with three helpless children, with little means for support. The police took cognizance of his situation and appointed him keeper of the stray pen at fifty cents a day.

Brigham Young's appeal for police tax payments began to pay off. February 14 the collector could show \$378.82 on his books. This was the value placed on the produce, livestock and clothing, paid by the faithful of the camp. When these goods were divided up Hosea's share amounted to sixty-five dollars. "Had it not been for this assistance, I could not have made up my outfit to come west." With this payment Hosea was able to buy a cow, purchase supplies, and pay fifteen dollars for the use of a wagon to move in. This lift enabled him to join the army of packers who were making preparations to move west.

One of the tasks which had to be completed before the journey could begin was the cleaning and repair of all guns belonging to the public. The assignment was given the police, who worked for days before they realized the job was greater than they could accomplish. An appeal for help was made to the public. A few volunteered, but when they discovered its tediousness they quit. To inject new life into the project the police held a social. All persons willing to clean one gun were invited to this party. Hosea reported the "dancing fever was so high we experienced difficulties supervising the crowds who wanted to clean guns. After several such parties the guns were all placed in repair." The task was completed March 3, and 80 guns were put in service.

Anna, the sister of Hosea and Allen, was unhappily married to Benjamin Jones. As we have seen, they were married in 1832, but unfortunately cordial adjustments had not been made. A Council meeting was held February 26 to settle the difficulties between them. At this hearing Benjamin confessed he had been living unlawfully with Rosannah Cox, a daughter of Jehu Cox. The Council heard Hosea and Allen relate Anna's grievances against Benjamin. The evidence plainly pointed to Benjamin's guilt. Benjamin realized his deeds had not been commendable, and manifested a genuine penitent spirit. His sincerity touched Brigham's heart, who recommended that the Coun-

cil forgive him. President Young then sealed Benjamin and Rosannah in marriage. Benjamin and Anna were then permitted to settle their differences. Hosea writes that a reconciliation was made but proved short lived.

The Strodes case illustrates the tensions in Winterquarters, which were ready to burst. It was the final challenge between the forces that preached disobedience and the forces which counseled faith in the leadership of the Church. Life at Winterquarters was a great test of character. It was the Lord's method of separating the goats from the sheep. Those who were willing to suffer the physical torture of hunger, exposure, illness and death, for a cause whose leadership could only promise more suffering in a desolate desert, were naturally diving themselves from those who were not willing. It was truly the season in Church history when the wheat had to be separated from the weeds. The case involved a breach of contract due a man named Redding, from Strodes. When Strodes was summoned to appear before Bishop Carne's Court, he answered by sending threats. Later, however, he sent an attorney to represent him. In a scurrilous letter he denounced the courts' alleged right to even try the case. The court decided (March 11), however, that Redding was in the right. This decision caused a wave of dissension in the camp. Those who were in the faith joined in a regular crusade against the authorities. Birds of a feather flocked together. It soon became evident who could be trusted by the church leaders.

Three days later Hosea and Brigham were in Strode's store on business. One of Strode's sympathizers was doing some very disrespectful talking. He objected violently against the verdict. He even threatened that United States troops would be sent in to undo the court decision. Brigham, highly agitated, remained calm and said little. Hosea writes, however, that "it was as much as I could do to keep my hands off them." Hosea later adds that never in church history had he witnessed so much dissension as at that time.

It was on March 15 that the court enforced the judgment against Strodes. Enough goods were confiscated from the store to satisfy the note due Redding. This action in-

flamed the fault-finders to a white heat. Henceforth the Strodes store became the headquarters for this disgruntled group. Police duties took Hosea to the Strodes Store (March 17), where he found the conflict in full progress. Two policemen were arguing the merits of the case with some of Strode's henchmen. "Upon entering the store I resolved to let them know my opinion, which I soon had an opportunity to do. My opinion was followed by a volley of abuse and scurrilous insults from Hill, Dalton and Bartlett, who demanded an explanation. Hill, not satisfied, continued his abusive language. Being resolved to put an end to the course that things were taking, I lit upon him. We had a short scuffle, I got him across the counter, where I held him securely till Lyttle parted us; that ended the affair." The police met and agreed on a policy. "We warned Dalton and Hill that we would end their course." The gang apparently decided the police meant what they said, for Hosea concludes, "I never heard another murmur from them again."

The murmuring may have ended, but the case was still unsettled. That evening Hosea received a summons to appear before Joseph Young and the Presidency of the Seventies Quorum, to answer charges by Hill for assault and battery, profane swearing and other un-Christian-like conduct. W. J. Earl and John Bills were also named in the indictment. At the trial the Seventies could not produce a quorum, so the case was turned over to the Council. At the trial Dalton's accusations that Hosea used abusive language was proven false. President Young then addressed the court, and very tactfully reprimanded both sides, which Hosea called "a first rate dressing out." The Council decided the police should stop all further opposition, which, Hosea says, "we did." This was a "final end to all Strodism. I now know that good came out of it."

This famous case was settled to the satisfaction of all, with the exception of two policemen. These men were Meeks and J. W. Cummings, who believed the President's chastisement of the police was due to Hosea's conduct, therefore, they claimed, he should be impeached as Captain of the



Police. These men had long been dissatisfied with Hosea's leadership. They saw an opportunity to place on Hosea's shoulders the full blame for the President's reprimand. At the police meeting (March 18), these men openly charged Hosea for the responsibility of the President's censure. This charge exposed their plot to the other members, who disagreed with their conclusions. When the meeting ended, the sentiment was strongly against the usurpers.

Rebellions and jealousies were balanced by domestic dividends when his wife presented him with a daughter (March 19). She was his fifth child, and the first to survive infancy and reach maturity. Her name, Elizabeth Ann, whose very name became a symbol of virtue, integrity, and purity. She was destined to supply her father with the very cream of his descendants.

When the Council passed an unpopular law it knew who to call on to enforce it. "On motion of President Brigham Young it was unanimously voted that the Captain of the Police be authorized to call on as many from each ward as was needed to stand guard at night to prevent the Indians from coming into Winterquarters. No trading shall be allowed with the Indians." The penalty for this trading was a one dollar fine, and forfeiture of the gain. "After receiving a copy of this law, I proceeded to execute the same, a great task since men were full of excuses, and unwilling to stand guard."

During the last six weeks in camp Hosea made final preparations for the journey west. Brigham received (March 29) more threats on his life, so Hosea had more responsibilities placed on his shoulders. A special guard was appointed to keep a twenty-four hour watch. At the April Conference (April 6-8) the guard kept as close to the President as possible. No dangerous moves were manifested, however. These last weeks in Winterquarters witnessed confusion to the ninth degree. One-half the population was making ready to go west, the other half was preparing to move across the river. One of those who was being forced back across the river was Allen Stout, the brother of Hosea. He did not have the equipment to make the journey. Hosea

attended the marriage of Allen (April 30) to Amanda Melvina Fisk, where Brigham Young officiated. Amanda was the daughter of Alfred Fisk, who had died of cholera in Zion's camp.

Meanwhile Hosea continued making preparations, supervising the guard, repairing wagons, collecting and loading provisions, and while idle standing guard at night! May 7 a large company of Ottoes, headed by Chief Caw, came into camp with a message from Miller, the Indian agent. The note demanded payment for the use of the land. The Saints, however, ignored the demand.

The companies had planned to leave early in April, but the start was held up by the late arrival of the ship "Mandan," which had a large group of emigrants and a cargo of supplies. The ship arrived May 9, so the following two days were spent in unloading and dividing the freight. May 14 was Sunday. Brigham made his last speech against the Missourians. Said he:

"This land of Missouri, from which we have been driven, shall be cursed to all who live on it — except the Saints."

May 17 the great company began moving west. Two wagons were needed to carry Hosea's belongings. The wagon with two yoke of oxen and one of cows was driven by Samuel Carns. Hosea drove the other wagon. Hosea and family had met the test which Winterquarters was intended to give. The wheat was free to move west, while the weeds drifted back into the states.

## BUILDING A NEW EMPIRE

A new chapter in the life of Hosea was now ready to begin. He turned his back on his native country and headed for no man's land, never to return. The nation whose constitution had guaranteed religious freedom had failed to keep its covenant. Consequently, a mass exodus from the America which boasted of its freedom was in progress. Hosea and his companions, like the Mayflower Planters, were seeking absolute freedom in religion. They wanted to go where not even the devil could dig them out.

Three miles were traveled the first day. A hill caused some delay, but doubling up enabled them to reach the top. During the four days spent in this first camp the pioneers made an appraisal of their organization and plans. Hosea reported his two wagons were carrying 3,267 pounds, or 566 pounds for each of the four in the family. Samuel Carns was the fourth member. When the caravan resumed its march the wagons made a line as far as the eye could see. Recent rains had resulted in muddy roads, which naturally reduced their speed. The travelers reached the Horn, May 24, where, after needed repairs, the crossing was made. A child of John Neph was drowned while crossing the river. Due to rising waters some of the wagons were held back several days; ninety-two, however, succeeded.

June 1, Brigham began organizing the camp into two groups. Allen Taylor was appointed Captain of the first, with Samuel Carns and John Harvey as his assistants. William G. Perkins was chosen Captain of the second unit, with Eliazer Miller and John D. Lee as aids. Hosea was a member of Carn's Fifty. The unpopular Lee had difficulty finding people who would join his fifty. A. L. Fullmer was Captain of Carn's Fourth Company of Ten, where Hosea was a member.

The journey's first traffic accident, as reported by Hosea, took place June 5 when Sister Graves, an elderly

lady and sick, fell from her wagon, the wheel crossing over her leg and breast. She survived, however. The journey continued, Liberty Pole was reached that evening and Shell Creek the next. At that place, Hosea was appointed Captain of the Guard, a position he could not shake off. Oliver Duncan was the second accident victim (June 9). While driving one of Brigham's teams he fell from the wagon, the wheel ran over his leg and broke it. Accidents could not stop the caravan. June 10 the companies traveled eighteen miles. The size of the caravan can best be visioned when seen in camp. These wagons formed a circle, Hosea says, that "occupied fifteen acres of land." Cedar Creek, the Pawnee Village, and Loup Fork were passed in rapid succession. Hosea had difficulty crossing this stream due to high waters and heavy rains. While Kimball's Company was at Cedar Creek a band of Omaha Indians made an attack on their livestock. In the rescue, two men were wounded and several Indians killed. A third accident took the life of Lucretia Cox, a daughter of Jehu Cox (June 18). She was a sister of Sarah whom Hosea married twenty years later.

Onward the Christian soldiers moved till Prairie Creek was reached (June 19). Six days later they found themselves 244 miles from Winterquarters, a fourth of the journey completed. Hosea reports that buffaloes were plentiful, but drinking water hard to get. Some of the men carelessly left their ox teams standing to run after buffaloes. This menaced the safety of the camp, since the ox teams were soon out of control. To meet this danger a rule was made to regulate the killing of buffalo. A regular band of hunters was appointed to kill buffalo for all the people.

Drudgery was the word that described the life of a teamster on that memorable trek. Oxen are mean and stubborn to handle. To drive oxen for fifteen hours a day, then stand guard two to four hours at night, is no sportsman's paradise. Seth Dodge was tried (June 27) for sleeping on duty as a night guard. Hosea doesn't say what the penalty was, but the man was entitled to a medal for valor, in line of duty. A man who will drive a team of oxen for fifteen hours, then be willing to stand guard to protect his fellow man, is entitled to praise, even though he slept part of the time.

The drudgery was only one-third completed on June 29, when 29 miles were put behind them, which may be a record. The next day sixteen more miles brought them to Cold Springs, where large herds of buffalo were seen. Too many of the animals were killed and brought in for food. This prompted Brigham to reprove his fellow men for unnecessarily destroying America's precious wild life. Indeed we can now say that Brigham Young was the real father of the conservation of natural resources doctrine in the United States. Forty years later Theodore Roosevelt, a pioneer in the conservation movement, began to warn the country against the senseless destruction of our wild life.

July 3, the travelers crossed the North Bluff Fork. Then on "our nation's birthday of liberty, we are fleeing exiles from her tyranny and oppression." Such satire against the Declaration of Independence could have caused men like Thomas Jefferson to turn over in their graves! Hosea, however, did not realize what a satirist he was. He was concerned with the struggle to reach the valley, not sarcasm toward a system that had destroyed his liberty. To continue with the trek, the company reached Goose Creek July 5, a distance of 344 miles from Winterquarters. At Cedar Bluffs, T. B. Foot and J. Ivie were court martialed for sleeping on guard duty. A Sunday rest was taken at Ash Hollow. While there they met a party of traders and apostate Mormons returning to the States. These ex-Saints had discovered that living their religion was too costly, so they were returning to the States to find a cheaper religion. Swimming against the current has always required more energy than floating downstream with the idle millions.

At the Bluff Ruins (July 12) the pilgrims saw a large group of Sioux Indians, "the best looking I ever saw," writes Hosea. At Chimney Rock (July 15) it was necessary to dig seven feet for drinking water. A day later timber was seen on the north side of the Platte. Near Raw Hide, the roads were very sandy, so passage was difficult. The travelers felt safer from their old enemies at this distance, so night guarding was discontinued, much to the relief of Hosea. July 21, the companies crossed the Platte and followed the

Old Oregon Trail. It was that day that Laramie Peak came into view. In this region the bed of the Platte became narrower, deeper and swifter. The water, however, was more excellent for drinking. They found Fort Laramie in ruins (July 22). This ended sixty-four days on the road since leaving Winterquarters, another sixty-four would bring them into the valley. Four days later, at Horse Creek, the distance to Winterquarters was computed to be 565 miles, or 50 miles over half-way mark, which was according to the measurements of William Clayton. At Horse Creek the company met a group of Battalion boys who were seeking their families. West of Laramie Peak, where the elevation was higher, better grass was found.

Onward and upward the pioneers moved, their goal the barren deserts high in the mountain tops. August 6, the companies returned to the north side of the Platte. The grass in that area was very poor, due to alkali in the soil. The Sweet Water Mountains came into view (August 9), the following day Independence Rock was passed, and there grass was found. At Devil's Gate the "river seemed to break through perpendicular rocks 400 feet high. The Sweet Water Valley is now a most beautiful looking meadow, an excellent camping place."

Hosea lost a second oxen (August 13), so A. L. Fuller gave him one—a very old one. This reduced Hosea's speed, for now he had two weak oxen in the same team. Henceforth he did not break the speed limits. Scouts from the valley brought (August 17) the good news that a large number of teams were coming to assist the pioneers into the valley. Mountain fever forced Hosea into bed (August 19) and this made it necessary for Louisa to drive the team as well as care for the baby. The caravan took a few days off while a rescue party went back to help the Kimball company, who were in difficulties. From this spot the Wind Mountains could be seen.

Lorenzo Young, the leader of the rescuers from the valley, arrived August 28, to aid the travelers. Two days later 45 other wagons arrived. These were spread through the groups where they were most needed. One unit was as-

signed to Hosea and E. H. Grover for use. The wagon belonged to Bishop Hoagland and was driven by his son. The wagon was soon loaded and the journey resumed. At South Pass (September 1) they were greeted by a violent storm which made camping difficult. Two days later the company passed through Dry Sandy, then Little Sandy, Big Sandy on the 5th, and on the 6th Fremont Peak came into view. Grass was excellent in this region. Green River was crossed on the 7th, Black's Fork on the 9th, Fort Bridger on the 12th, and on the 13th the company camped on the divide between the Green River and Bear River basins. Hosea reported the elevation at that point to be 7,700. Forward the pioneers moved; Bear River was crossed on the 14th, Echo Creek on the 15th, and Weber River on the 17th. The uphill climb began on the 18th. Canyon Creek was crossed 13 times in the struggle to reach the top of Big Mountain (September 20). In taking a view of the promised land, the company experienced the same sensations that Moses did on Mount Pisgah. This was the first real mountain Hosea had ever climbed. In the descent a wagon tongue broke, causing the wagon to go out of control. The wagon did not stop until the bottom of the creek was reached. Little Canyon (Emigration) Creek was crossed 18 times before the mouth of the canyon was reached. Five miles from their mecca they built their last campfire. It had been a horrible day for Hosea, due to an offensive headache.

On a black, rainy day, September 23, Hosea and his family arrived in the land of promise. "We passed through the forts and encamped on the west side, where hundreds of wagons had already stopped." Hosea drove his cattle to a pasture, then went to the fort to make an appraisal of the new world into which he had come. "This ended the long and tedious journey from the land of our enemies. I felt free and happy that I had escaped from their midst." According to William Clayton's measurements, the distance was 1,031 miles, required 130 days, and averaging 7.9 miles per day. Presidents Young and Kimball began the task of assigning lots and farms to the newcomers.

Hosea's impressions, made on his first Sabbath (September 24) are worth recording:



"Went to a meeting held under a large bowery, where a large congregation met. Here I had the satisfaction of meeting many old friends who had come last year. President Young spoke, commending the people here for their industry. He had seen that this was the place for the Saints to gather, even before coming here." As a part of the business of the meeting it was decided to move the mills from upper City Creek to the west side, to save the drinking water from pollution. The people were advised to live in a compact community as a measure of self-defense.

Monday morning the task of building a new home in the Rockies began. Winter was near, so no crops could be planted. Food in storage was limited, due to the cricket raids earlier in the year. Hosea moved his family into the North Fort, where Charles C. Rich was a neighbor. He spent three days hauling wood from Red Butte Canyon, which satisfied one of his first needs. To meet the community's fuel need, the High Council passed an ordinance permitting the cutting of all timber within 30 miles of the city. On that same day (September 30) Hosea was assigned Lot 4, on block 73, located in the northeast area of the city. Hosea's next task was to build a home. To that end he spent all his spare time.

Meanwhile Hosea notes the return of Addison Pratt from his mission to the Society Islands (September 28) and his interesting report to the people. Captain Jefferson Hunt made his report for the Battalion boys who were returning daily from California. October 6, the General Conference began. John Smith was appointed Patriarch; Charles C. Rich, President of the Stake, with John Young and Erastus Snow as his Councilors. The most disagreeable task of all was given to Hosea. He was appointed keeper of the stray pen.

Great Salt Lake City was rapidly becoming a cattle center, as well as a Mecca for people. The people lived in tents, wagons or log cabins, but the livestock had no place to call home, not even a corral. The result was confusion. The hungry livestock overran the fields, and invaded the defenseless stacks of feed which some of the industrious farm-

ers had stored away for winter. So war was declared between the owners of hungry cattle and the farmers. Hosea found himself square in the middle of this fight. His duty was to remain friendly to both sides. The Council had passed an ordinance forbidding loose livestock from running the streets. It was Hosea's duty to take these animals to the stray pen and charge the owner fifty cents a head for their recovery. Dishonest men soon took advantage of this situation. Ten horses were brought to the pen by some adventurers, who asked for pay for their services. After an investigation it was found that the horses had been taken unlawfully. When faced with the evidence the men confessed. Two other men unlawfully took their animals from the pen without paying the regular fees. These men were tried before Bishop Lewis' Court and fined five dollars each. In a third case some oxen were lawfully put in the pen. When the owner arrived he denounced the law in very uncomplimentary language, threatening death to anyone who put them there again. Charges were preferred against him, but before the case came up the law was repealed (October 22) so the charges were dropped. Judges were then instructed to use their own judgment in each case.

Hard labor and industry finally won for Hosea a log cabin, 14 by 18 feet in size. It gave the family "plenty of room," but apparently the family was not satisfied, for he spent the rest of the winter enlarging it.

Late in November (26) Brigham Young changed his policy on settlement. Previously he had cautioned his followers to live in compact communities. He then announced that the entire region was to be eventually settled. He organized an exploring party under the leadership of Amasa Lyman. The object of the expedition was to locate a settlement on the Gulf of California and build a road to the place. He cautioned all not to volunteer, but to be ready if called.

Letters from the Saints still at the Bluffs made interesting reading to those in the Valley. In substance all was well; crops had produced well and health conditions were excellent. The people of Nauvoo had borrowed a cannon from Carthage to celebrate the Fourth. In the melee which

followed the crowd went out of control and the cannon was dumped into the river.

The presidential election of 1848 was reported in a letter by George A. Smith: There were five candidates for the Presidency. Martin Van Buren, the man who told Joseph Smith his cause was just, but that he could do nothing for him, was a candidate on the new Free Soil Party. It was composed of washed-up politicians from both parties. Their slogan: "Burn the barn and drive the rats out." This was irony from a man like Van Buren. He should have been burned out of the White House in 1837. A copy of a proclamation written by Lyman Wight and Bishop George Miller was read to the Saints. It called for all Saints to meet on the Colorado River in Texas. The statement was filled with unprintable charges against the Twelve. Its spirit was dishonest and mean. The church then and there voted to have them cut off the church. Reports that Oliver Cowdry, David Whitmer, W. E. McClellan and William Smith were again trying to build up a new church was read to the assembled Saints. These men were hopelessly waiting for Brigham and the Twelve to fall so they could lead the church.

It was December 5, that Hosea first learned of the move to petition the government for a Territorial Government. Five days later the petition was circulated. On that day the High Council passed the first price-fixing law known in the United States. The price of beef was pegged at two and one-half cents a pound on foot, and three and one-half cents over the counter! (To us living in 1949—most fantastic). "This, however," says Hosea, "was not a law but only a voluntary agreement."

Pressure for the establishment of a bank in the valley was made. Some of the people in the city possessed gold dust. This could not be coined. A meeting was held December 28, where it was decided to issue bills of credit against this gold, which was to be deposited with the President. Accordingly, these bills were signed, so paper currency went into circulation. With joy Hosea exclaims:

"We now have a 'National Bank' while those in the States cannot establish one because the Democratic President vetoes it." Hosea must have been a Whig sympathizer. His farewell to 1848 is full of meaning:

"In thy reign I have escaped from the land of my nativity, from oppression and misrule, where I could not enjoy the liberty of conscience."

## 1849

Hosea was present at the opening (January 2) of the "National Bank." Those who had gold dust made their deposits and received currency certificates which could be used as legal tender. Hosea received \$25.00 for the small amount of dust he deposited. Many others took advantage of the same opportunity. This was the first bank to be established west of the Mississippi River.

The south side of the Fort wall was the scene of an important meeting February 4. Brigham's remarks are quoted by Hosea:

"None should leave here and carry off their gold and silver, contrary to counsel. We need not be afraid of starving for there are plenty of provisions for all."

He proposed that the people appoint a committee to study what foods were surplus and who possessed these surpluses. Those who did should sell and take paper money as payment. He offered to put his own surplus cattle on the market first. He forbade the holding of more dances during the balance of the season. "How soon we forget God, now that we are delivered from our enemies. How many are now trying to take advantage of his brother in the price of grain? We, who have been driven and mobbed, have prayed to be delivered and brought here. If we were back in the midst of our enemies, we would thank God for a crust of bread. There is a difference between the Kingdom of God on earth and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In the former all men had a right to, and protection in, his religion, no person should be allowed to molest, abuse or ridicule any one on account of his religion or manner of worship."

The President's speech had its desired results. Beef was again on the market and could be purchased with paper money. The food survey showed (February 11) three-fourths of a pound of bread for every person in the city.

In the presence of a large congregation a very remarkable healing took place. Amasa Lyman, while attending services (February 12), became very ill. A lung disease destroyed his power of speech. Several of the Elders laid hands on him, President Young being mouth, rebuked the disease and pronounced a blessing of health, promising that he could arise and speak to the edification of the Saints present. To the astonishment of all present, he did arise and bore his testimony, giving credit to the power of the priesthood for his recovery.

That same day the man who converted Hosea to Mormonism, Charles C. Rich, was chosen an apostle, and three others were likewise chosen. At this meeting John Young was appointed President of the High Priests Quorum, Daniel Spencer was chosen President of the Salt Lake Stake, David Fullmer and Willard Snow his Councilors. Two days later the High Council was reorganized, the following were the new members: Isaac Morley, Henry G. Sherwood, William W. Major, John Vance, Ira Eldridge, Titus Billings, Eleazer Miller, Levi Jackman, Elisha H. Groves, Shadrock Roundy, Edwin D. Woolley, and Phineas Richards. The city was then divided into 19 wards.

Church and state were fully united in Great Salt Lake City. During a church service (February 25) Horace S. Eldridge was appointed city marshal. In the same meeting five young men were each fined \$25 for unchristian-like conduct. Amasa Lyman and Erastus Snow served as prosecuting attorneys. Their arguments were so convincing that W. W. Phelps moved that they be cut off the church. The congregation (jury) agreed unanimously.

A group of outlaw Indians had made several raids on livestock belonging to farmers in Salt Lake and Utah Valleys. The Ute Tribe in Utah county were equally determined to bring these renegade traitors to justice. The whites

were also enraged by their repeated raids, so the authorities decided to organize an expedition against them. John Scott was chosen to lead this expedition. With 19 men he reached the Ute camp on the Provo River, March 4, and while a new President was being inaugurated in Washington, John and Hosea were making a deal with Little Chief for aid in the capture of the outlaws. The Ute Chief sent his two sons with the posse to serve as guides.

These young Indians were more anxious to make the attack than were the whites. They even insisted that the attack be made that same evening. They threatened to go alone if the whites refused to follow. Scott and his men reluctantly followed the Indian guides up the river to the mouth of the canyon, then ascended the high bench to the left and went north several miles, keeping close to the mountain edge. The guides suggested that the horses be left and the attack made on foot. Colonel Scott sent Hosea with nine others up the mountain side, and north six more miles, before the smoke from the Indian fires was discovered. Here they waited until the main body arrived. At 3 o'clock in the morning, when the attack was all set, the two guides backed down and refused to join in the attack. They were unwilling to take part, but wanted the whites to do the killing. After some coaxing, however, they promised to follow, but did not want to take an active part.

The attackers were divided into four groups. Hosea had charge of those on the far side. When the whites were closing in the outlaws discovered their presence and dashed in all directions in an attempt to escape. They soon found themselves completely surrounded. In threatening tones they ordered the whites to leave. Equally threatening the Ute guide demanded the outlaws come out and give themselves up. The threats and counter-threats continued for some time. "Finally," writes Hosea, "when they discovered we were determined, they gave the war whoop and began firing on us. The battle commenced, and in a few minutes one of the Indians was killed and several wounded. They took shelter in a deep creek, thickly set with willows, which shielded them completely. We could see them only when

they raised up to shoot. They fought with a determined resolution to die rather than yield. Sometimes they would sing as if to show they were gambling—a token of defiance to us. Some five or six times we ceased firing, and with our interpreters, tried to persuade them to come out, or at least send their women and children out, but the gesture had no effect. Some of the squaws were at length found lying in water, and were induced to come out. They were in a most deplorable condition, nearly frozen. We kindled a fire, warmed and dried their clothing, and sent them back to plead with the rest to come out. Thirteen women and children came out and gave themselves up. A boy about sixteen came out. He had fought manfully.

Two of the women were wounded from stones we had thrown into the brush. Before the end we killed two more of their group. The last man broke through the brush and dashed for the mountain, but was killed before he got far. This ended the battle of 'Battle Creek,' not one of our men was even hurt. They had shot hundreds of arrows at us from only a few yards distance. Our men were perfectly calm and deliberate during the fight. They did not fire at random as is so common on such occasions. This little band had separated themselves from the Ute Tribe because they were determined to live by stealing from the whites. We found thirteen beef hides in their camp, some of them were recognized. We returned to our camp, where Little Chief said we had done right, but felt like crying when he saw what a bad end these men had come to by their dishonesty. He said we did wrong in not killing the lad, for he would yet kill a white man for revenge." The posse then returned to the city.

Hosea notes the first political election held in the Territory (March 12). There were only 655 votes cast. The following officers were elected: Governor, Brigham Young; Secretary of State, Willard Richards; Chief Justice, Heber C. Kimball; Associate Justices, Newell K. Whitney and John Taylor; Marshall, Horace L. Eldridge; Attorney General, Daniel H. Wells; Treasurer, Newell K. Whitney; Assessor and Collector, Albert Carrington; Supervisor of



Roads, Joseph L. Haywood. The following Bishops were named Justices of the Peace in their respective wards: 1st ward, David Fairbanks; 2nd ward, John Lowery; 3rd ward, C. Williams; 4th ward, Benjamin Brown; 5th ward, not given; 6th ward, William Hickenlooper; 7th ward, William G. Perkins; 8th ward, Addison Everett; 9th ward, Seth Taft; 10th ward, David Pedigrew; 11th ward, Daniel Carns; 12th ward, Benjamin Covey; 13th ward, Edward Hunter; 14th ward, John Murdock; 15th ward, Abraham O. Smoot; 16th ward, Isaac Higbee; 17th ward, J. F. Haywood; 18th ward, Newell K. Whitney; 19th ward, James Hendrix; and North Cottonwood, Joseph F. Robinson.

Never before since 100 A. D. had there been a government which recognized the sovereignty of God and acknowledged His revelations as the civil law of the land. Brigham Young, like Moses of old, was the law-giver, the supreme interpreter of the law, and the highest executive officer in the government. The Twelve served as his cabinet and as a legislative advisory board. The Bishops Courts and High Council were the lower judiciary courts where all cases originated. In the Bishops Court, where most cases began, the Bishop determined whether the defendant's conduct was a violation of the law, and if the evidence pointed to guilt, the Bishop, after a word of prayer and consultation with his Stake President, decided on the penalty. The defendant, if dissatisfied, might appeal his case to the High Council. In that body half the members served as attorneys for the defendant, the other half acted as advisors of the plaintiff or people. The three members of the Stake Presidency made the final decision. If the defendant or plaintiff was dissatisfied with this decision, the case would be appealed to the Governor and his cabinet for a final hearing. Under that air-tight system, no miscarriage of justice was ever known. Never before, nor since, in the history of criminology, has individualization of punishment been executed on such a high plane, where bribery, corruption and prejudice could not defeat justice.

Swearing was a sin, which many of the Saints could boast but not conscientiously. In a sermon delivered March

18, John Taylor spoke forcefully against evil. He called on all those who were willing to flog anyone heard swearing to raise their hands. Many raised their hands, but as many did not. Hosea offered an explanation for those who refused to vote either way. "Such persons," Hosea claimed, "considered the move a fast way of getting into or out of business." A week later Brigham was inspired to speak against quite a different sin. News of the gold discovery in California caused a great sensation among the Saints. Many loaded their personal property into their wagons and started west, others hesitated. Realizing that the Saints had come to the mountains to win their salvation, not riches, Brigham made a powerful speech against going to California for gold. His influence was so great that few dared to go against his counsel.

In April the actions of the Indians began to look suspicious. Fearing a general war, Brigham proposed (April 22) that the Nauvoo Legion be reorganized. A week later two Indian tribes staged a pitched battle on Ogden's Fork. Wanship's party was badly defeated. Although Little Chief himself was killed, his party of Utes won a final victory. In the reorganization of the Legion two regiments were created, a cavalry and infantry cohort. Daniel H. Wells was appointed Major General; J. M. Grant and Horace S. Eldridge, Brigadier Generals; two colonels and four majors were created. Hosea was made a First Lieutenant in the Second Cohort. John Pack and John D. Lee were nominated to be majors, but when their names were read for approval, they were both "contemptuously hissed down."

May 20, Brigham proposed the building of a tabernacle large enough to accommodate the entire population.

Just seventeen months from the time gold was discovered in California, the gold seekers from the east began (June 23) pouring into Great Salt Lake City. Led by curiosity, Hosea visited the gold seekers camp. He found a trading post instead. The gold rushers were trading off their worn out horses at any price. Food stocks and clothing were exchanged for fresh horses, wagons and equipment, which would get them to the gold fields faster. These

gold seekers were willing to make great sacrifices in order to hasten their departure. Hosea doesn't say whether he took advantage of these "sales" or not. These emigrants were entitled to the same protection from the law as were the old residents. A bad Mormon was caught stealing a pair of boots from one of the gold seekers. He was tried before a Bishop's court and found guilty. His punishment was the return of the boots, a payment in money to the emigrant of four times the value of the boots, payment of all court costs, and a fine to the state of \$50, in work on county roads. "This was frontier justice," writes Hosea.

July 24 was the second anniversary of the arrival of the first pioneers into the Valley. The Saints decided the occasion called for a celebration. At the break of day artillery awakened the people. A huge dinner was enjoyed by all at mid-day. Later a liberty pole pageant was given, and finally some spirited speeches were delivered. These ceremonies ended the first 24th celebration in the Territory.

"Vengeance is mine and I will repay." The arrival of a Missouri mobber in Salt Lake caused quite a sensation. Some of the Saints whose memories of the Missouri persecutions were still fresh, demanded prompt action in his removal. A test of toleration was now in the offing. Could the Saints return good for evil? A man named Pomroy arrived in the valley, August 9. He was the leader of a 34-wagon caravan, headed for the gold mines. Breakdowns forced him to remain in the valley for a season. While making repairs he was recognized by some of the residents as one of the Missouri mobbers. This intelligence caused quite a sensation in the community. If the moral tone of the Mormons had been on the same level as those of the Missourians, a lynching party could easily have been organized. The reason such a party was not organized is: the people were Saints, not criminals. Instead, a Council meeting was held to discuss the problem. This group appointed a committee to notify Pomroy "to pack up his goods and leave." Pomroy demanded a hearing (a right never granted in Missouri), and this hearing was granted. At the trial (August 12) several members of the Church testified that they knew Pomroy in Missouri, during the persecutions there, that he

was a valient defender of the Saints, and that he and his family were also severely persecuted for the part he took against the mob. This surprising testimony changed the picture profoundly. He was honorably acquitted. Strange indeed that friendly witnesses were permitted to testify for him! The Saints had met the test. Tolerance had won over bigotry.

Anna, the sister of Hosea, arrived in the valley August 17. She reported that Allen was still at the Bluffs, unable to solve his transportation problem. At church services J. M. Grant predicted the Saints "would never be driven from here, unless it was for our transgressions."

1849 was a hectic year for Hosea. He had little time to write in his diary, so this history is weakened as a consequence. The following events which involve Hosea are taken from other sources.

As noted above, the election to fill the offices in the proposed State of Deseret was held March 12. The Constitution had provided for a Lieutenant Governor, but the election did not name anyone to that office. When the General Assembly met July 2-5, as prescribed by the Constitution, Heber C. Kimball, who had previously been named Chief Justice, was now sworn in as Lieutenant Governor with the other state officers. On the date no one was sworn in as Chief Justice, Associate Justices, or for Attorney General.

The Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume 8, page 88, is authority for the statement that:

"The members of the House of Representatives assembled (July 2) and presented their credentials, were duly qualified and took their seats." The twenty-sixth name listed in this group is Hosea Stout. The fact that Hosea presented his credentials, was sworn in as Representative, certainly proves that he should have known that he belonged to that body. This incident is not mentioned in his diary for July 2-5. Five months later, December 4, Hosea writes that he received a letter from the authorities notifying him to meet with the House of Representatives on December 8.

“By what process I became a Representative, I know not.” Why there should be an element of surprise in this appointment, after actually serving as a member in July, is not explained.

## LAWYER AND LAW MAKER

1850

The people had adopted a Constitution, held an election, and sworn in their officers. The General Assembly reconvened January 5, and began organizing their committees. A committee was created on each of the following: Judiciary, Revenue, Ways and Means, Elections, and Claims. Colonel Albert P. Rockwood, Joseph S. Straton and Hosea Stout comprised the Committee on Claims. The state was divided into electoral districts—these were the accomplishments of the first day of the session.

On the second day (January 8) a letter was read from the citizens of Utah County, which described the Indian troubles there. The Redskins were again on the rampage. One Indian had been killed in the act of stealing. In an angry mood, the House passed an Attendance Act, which penalized members for being late or absent. The day following the important Judiciary Act was passed. This Act authorized the Assembly, acting jointly, to choose the members of the Supreme Court and the Attorney General. In compliance with this power, the Assembly appointed Daniel H. Wells to be Chief Justice, replacing Heber C. Kimball, who had been promoted to Lieutenant Governor. Wells had previously been elected Attorney General, so this office was now vacant. Later (February 27), the Assembly, in joint session chose Hosea Stout Attorney General. It can now be said that Hosea Stout, and not Daniel H. Wells, was the first Attorney General in the State of Deseret. Two Utah historians of high distinction make the statement in their histories of Utah that Daniel H. Wells was the first Attorney General of Deseret. This misstatement of fact is hereby corrected.

Hosea had reasons for being interested in the Indian depredations in Utah County. He knew how difficult they were to control. He pauses long enough in his legislative

history to relate a second expedition against the Ute Tribe. This expedition was headed by G. D. Grant. John Scott was appointed to go also, but instead reneged and attended the Assembly, where he was Sergeant-at-Arms. While on duty there he became involved in a heated argument with President Young. The President told him he was "willfully neglecting his duty," whereupon Scott resigned his post in the Legion and withdrew from the expedition. George D. Grant, however, responded to his call, and led an eventful expedition against the Indians in Utah County (February 9). The Indians offered greater resistance than they had the previous year. Four men were wounded: Samuel Garn, Alexander Stevens, Alfred Wiles, and James Orr. In the battle the Indians had concealed themselves in a deep ravine where the artillery could not root them out. On the second day of battle Joseph Higbee was killed and Alexander Williams and A. L. Fullmer were wounded. After the fourth day of fighting the Indians fled, leaving 9 dead and many wounded. In a later skirmish 14 more Indians were killed and no whites were even scratched. Twenty-six women and children were captured and were brought to Great Salt Lake City and distributed among the people to be educated and civilized. During these Indian troubles General Daniel H. Wells had put the State of Deseret under martial law.

Hosea had a part to play in the bill providing for the organization of the University of Deseret. The act (February 12) provided for a Chancellor, twelve Regents and a Treasurer to be appointed by the Assembly. Five thousand dollars were appropriated to commence the University. The same day, debate was begun on the criminal code. Valuable time was spent in defining willful murder. The following day (March 1) it was finally passed. Some of the men appointed as Regents of the University were unable to serve in that capacity. One of the men selected to fill one of the vacancies was Hosea Stout. On the last day of the session a bill creating County Recorders, a Surveyor General and an Arsenal were enacted into law.

The functions of an Attorney General were quite primitive in 1850, compared to late models. His authority was



similar to those of a District or County Attorney today. It is true that he served as a legal advisor to state officers, but his principal services were those of a prosecutor against persons accused of both misdemeanors and felonies. His first action was a suit against Robert Porter and Peter Fisk for trespassing on property belonging to Lewis Vasques. In this case Hosea served as attorney for the plaintiff, since trespassing was defined as a misdemeanor. At the trial (March 9) the defendants were acquitted for lack of evidence.

The Court Martial of John Scott came to trial on March 7. He was charged with disobedience, abusive and reviling language calculated to destroy the morale of the soldiers under him. In this case Hosea was appointed to serve as Judge Advocate. During the trial Scott was intractable, obstreperous, and his language offensive. The charges were fully sustained, so he was dishonorably dismissed from the legion.

Hosea's second case as prosecuting attorney involved a Mr. Long, who was charged with killing an ox which belonged to H. S. Eldridge. The defendant was found guilty and fined \$30.

Hosea had spent every spare day during the winter working on the Council House. On March 11, he learned to his dismay that he was credited with only \$1.75 per day. He decided prices were too high to work for these wages, so took his tools home. Hosea tried to rid himself of more public duties, so he handed in his resignation as Lieutenant in the Legion (March 23). His Major General, however, disagreed with the idea and refused to accept the resignation.

Charles Shumway arrived (March 24) from Sanpete County and reported that Chief Walker had been baptized and was then anxious to go to the Utes and preach to them. Walker wanted even his old enemies to hear the gospel! The gospel was a much safer tool, in the hands of the Indians, than were guns. Accordingly, the Assembly passed (March 29) an act prohibiting the sale of guns and ammunition to the Indians.

A sixth child was born to Louisa, April 5, who was named Hosea. His life proved to be a tragedy. He never gained a testimony of the gospel, lost what little faith he had in the Church, and completely apostatized from the gospel. He moved to Arizona in 1881, where he and his family joined the Seventh Day Adventist Church. He died March 1, 1918. When his wife, Elizabeth, died January 24, 1938, there were 23 grandchildren and 9 great grandchildren, all of whom were denied the gospel and its blessings because of the apostasy of one man. Would it have been better for Hosea, Jr., never to have been born?

One of the Indian outlaws captured earlier in the year escaped from the posse and began a life of robbery and murder in the outlying settlements. His method of attack was most cowardly. When one person could be found alone the ambush was used. The day arrived, however, when Pat Souette was captured (April 29), and this ended a most notorious career.

May 15, Hosea purchased 30 acres of land in North Cottonwood, later known as Holiday. The land was rich and well adapted for farming. His father-in-law, the Taylors, were already located in that region. It was in that area that Hosea was destined to spend the last 20 years of his life.

The departure of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball for Utah County, to attend the "Peace Conference" with the Indians, is noted (May 20) by Hosea. Large groups of Indians had assembled there for the purpose of finding a solution for the difficulties. Since Hosea did not attend, he had few details to add.

Methods for settling difficulties between members of the Church received careful consideration by those high in authority. President Young recommended that all controversies between members be fully aired before the assembled Saints. By popular vote the people were to decide who was in the right. Such a method, claimed the President, would "save time and expense and prevent hard feelings so common in a long and tedious lawsuit." Cases should only go to the state courts when one of the parties

to the dispute refused to abide the decision of the Church Tribunal. It is not known whether this proposal was ever tried or not.

Progress toward building the University of Deseret was noted by Hosea on June 5, when the University Regents appointed a committee to survey the lands selected for the school and locate the sites for the buildings. The Regents chose Daniel H. Wells, chairman, and Daniel Spencer and Hosea Stout to make the survey.

A typical case of frontier justice is related by our law-maker. A man named Francis Drake, operator of a ferry across the Weber River, carried passengers and freight, charging a toll for the services, which were insured. While ferrying an emigrant named Kenicott across, the ferry capsized, sending all the wagons and equipment into the river. This left Kenicott completely empty-handed. Notwithstanding the ferry services were insured, Drake refused to pay damages for the loss. Kenicott appealed to the Church Courts for justice. The case was placed in Hosea's hands. He proceeded to draw up attachment papers for all property belonging to Drake. At the trial (June 10) both parties were clamorous and obstreperous. The Court awarded Kenicott \$75 and costs. Drake proceeded to appeal the case but learned to his consternation that others were preparing to sue, so he paid up and skipped the country. On the frontier justice had to be practical.

The newspaper business reached the frontier on June 15. Hosea was greatly pleased to read the first weekly newspaper published west of the Missouri River. The Deseret News made its first appearance on that date.

The General Assembly met on Independence Day and passed an act exempting from taxation iron, leather, groceries and medicines. During these spring and summer months many gold seekers passed through the valley, enroute to California. These people were continually in trouble, either among themselves or with the old residents. The Deseret Courts were kept busy settling these difficulties. Many of these cases were handled by Hosea. Typical was

one against a man named Bartlett, who was found guilty of selling the same horse twice. When parties split up, damage suits usually followed. Hosea had many of these cases. Cases of theft were by far the most common.

The Church needed missionaries to send to Germany, so a census was taken (August 25) to find out how many could speak the German language. Later, these persons were called to that mission. The next day Hosea reports that Captain Stansburry completed his survey of the Great Salt Lake, then began his journey back to the States. It was August 30 that the first large company of Saints to arrive in 1850 began to reach the valley from the Bluffs. It was headed by Milo Andrus and comprised 50 wagons.

General Conference was held September 6, 7, 8. The theme of the Conference was the emigration of the poor Saints. Funds were called for. A large amount was collected. Some donated \$100. Its equivalent in 1949 would be \$1000.

Sessions of the Assembly began September 5, when Orson Hyde was made a Regent of the University. After Conference, when the sessions reconvened, the first bill to be introduced (September 11) and finally passed (September 14) was the Charter for the Perpetual Emigration Fund. The University Regents met (September 20) and appointed George A. Smith, Ezra T. Benson and Hosea Stout, Supervisors of the schools north of Salt Lake City.

The Indians were again on the war path, this time in Weber County. Troops were dispatched to the scene. A white man and an Indian Chief had been killed. The presence of the troops soon brought order to the region. News reached Ogden (September 5) that the Indians had attacked a company of emigrants near Fort Hall, killed every man in the group, and taken all the women and children prisoners.

The Assembly met (October 5) and organized a new county, located between Salt Lake and Weber Counties. The County was named in honor of Captain D. C. Davis. In the famous Compromise of 1850 the State of Dese-

ret was lost in a grand shuffle between the north and the south. A territory was organized (September 9) from the area originally covered by Deseret. The new territory was given a new name, "Utah." The first news of this act did not reach Great Salt Lake City until October 16. Newspaper accounts, with full details, did not arrive until November 19. Meanwhile (September 20), President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young the Governor of the Territory of Utah. The news of this appointment did not reach the valley until January 27, 1851. In the absence of a Territorial Government, and the necessary officers to operate such an organization, the State of Deseret continued to function until April 5, 1851. Accordingly, December 2, the Second Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Deseret convened in the State House, where J. M. Grant was elected Speaker of the House, James Ferguson, clerk. A bill was passed (December 3) organizing Iron County, and choosing President George A. Smith as its first judge. City Creek Canyon was granted to President Young for \$500. Court cases and committee meetings with Daniel Spencer, who aided Hosea in writing a Criminal Code, kept Hosea busy to the end of the year.

## 1851

The new year found Hosea busy with the Shenk case, which he was prosecuting. The man was found guilty and given five years at hard labor.

The General Assembly met January 6, and began work on a Charter for the city. Within a few days a charter, modeled after the Nauvoo Charter, was completed. January 11, the first session of the City Council met and organized. The first Mayor, J. M. Grant, "delivered an excellent inaugural address." Two days later the City Council adopted all the laws which governed the city of Nauvoo. The first official act of the new mayor was to smash two distilleries (January 17).

The Criminal Code was finally completed and introduced into the House (January 14). There it was fully

debated, section by section. Hosea reports it required more debate, and opinions on its merits were wider than any bill ever introduced into the Assembly. It finally passed a third reading January 16.

The first official move toward the building of a temple was made (January 19) at a Seventies meeting by President Young. It was at this meeting that he proposed that the Saints begin the construction of a temple "in the very near future." The idea was put to a vote and carried unanimously.

Many of the gold seekers arrived in the valley completely destitute. They found themselves unable to move on or return to the east. Knowing the Mormons would not share their rations with the Gentiles, their only alternative was to pretend they believed the principles of Mormonism and join up. These converts sometimes married members of the Church and spent the winter among the Saints, then moved on to California in the spring. For this reason they were called "Winter Saints." January 19 several of these hypocrites were cut off the Church. "I was glad to see this action taken, for too many were falling in with the Gentiles and partaking of their spirit."

The twelve-day County Court ended January 25. Judgments passed by the court amounted to 33 years of hard labor with ball and chain. \$240 was collected in fines. "Such is the progress of crime in this once peaceful valley," observed Hosea. The gold rush had its ugly side, too.

Since the Saints left Nauvoo the Presidents of the Seventies Quorum had lost 59 members either by death or apostasy. Consequently a reorganization meeting was held (January 26) where most of the vacancies were filled.

Captain Jefferson Hunt arrived from the east by the southern route (January 27). While in Iron County, George A. Smith had organized the County, naming Hunt to the House of Representatives. It was he who first brought the news from the east that Brigham Young had been appointed Governor of Utah, by President Fillmore. Brigham Young was in Ogden the day Hunt brought this startling

news into the valley. When Brigham returned to the city (January 28) he was met by a large crowd headed by a band, who gave him a tumultuous welcome. The artillery went into action and fireworks were displayed, all to show the new Governor their joy in his selection. The celebration ended with a short speech from the new Chief Executive.

A new prophet was discovered among the Saints. He issued several revelations, threatening the Saints with terrible judgments unless they repented. He announced that Elijah, the Prophet, was in the midst of the Saints, but refused to identify him. Outwardly he recognized the Presidency as the true head of the Church. He asked the authorities for an opportunity to give his message to the people, which President Young granted (February 2). The importance of this incident lies in the permission to broadcast his views to the people. The Saints who had been victims of intolerance and persecution were not seeking an opportunity for revenge. The Saints were quite capable of determining what was truth and what was not. President Young had complete confidence in his people.

President Young was sworn in (February 3) as Governor of the Territory of Utah. The State of Deseret, however, continued to function for two more months. This was a strange situation, a Governor of a Territory was acting as a chief executive of a State, and he was also serving as the Governor of the same State. We do know, however, that he wasn't receiving a double salary. On the following day the Assembly of the State of Deseret passed an act incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This bill was signed by the Governor of the Territory of Utah! This act was considered "a matter of the most vital importance to all the Saints." For the second time the Church was a legal body in the eyes of the law. The state which had granted this authority had not legal existence in the eyes of the Federal Government, so the act meant nothing.

The Regents met the same day and fired the only teacher (Mr. Collins) the University had. The Board authorized the Chancellor, Mr. Orson Spencer, to employ as many teachers as needed.



The method of paying the Attorney General his salary in 1851 was quite different from the method used today. The Assembly passed (February 5) a resolution allowing Hosea a five-dollar fee for every person convicted at the special term of the County Court. He received \$85, which means 17 persons were convicted.

The Assembly granted (February 9) city charters to Provo, Ogden, Manti, and Cedar City. These charters were modeled on the one granted Great Salt Lake City previously.

The two and a half years Hosea had been in the valley he had made material progress, if his tax notice can be used as an index. The tax collector had given his property a valuation of \$435.00 — requesting that he pay \$18.36 as taxes. Taxes were high in 1851.

Emigrants who had wintered in the valley began taking their leave (February 26), taking with them property which belonged to others. Troops were sent to capture the stolen goods. Several of the runaways were found with the stolen goods and returned to the city. One of the delinquents was none other than Harvey Whitlock, at one time called by revelation to go to Missouri as a missionary (D. and C., Section 52:25). He had long since apostatized from the faith. Why he had not been weeded out of the ranks sooner is unexplainable.

The last session of the Assembly under the State of Deseret met (April 5) and adjourned sine die. "I suppose," observes Hosea, "that my office as Attorney General is likewise ended." Hosea had served 13 months and 7 days in that office.

On April 6 when the General Conference should have convened, but did not due to bad weather, Hosea noted the church was then 21 years old, had survived its worst persecutions, and was on the road to greater horizons. Conference sessions began the following day, but Hosea failed to mention that the Saints voted to build a temple or that Edward Hunter was made the Presiding Bishop of the Church.

The Indians were again (April 23) on the warpath, this time in Tooele County. Several of the redmen who

were held as prisoners made a dash for liberty. In the pursuit a brother named Custer was killed. When the troops finally rounded up the Indians, 16 more of the red men were killed before the remainder surrendered.

A meeting at the Council House (May 18) posed the problem of building a tabernacle. Seven hundred dollars was subscribed before the meeting ended. A building campaign was organized. Members of wards in all stakes were to be invited to contribute toward its construction.

Progress toward speed was made by the U. S. Mail between the Bluffs and Great Salt Lake City. The mail arriving May 28 made the distance in 26 days. That was four times as fast as the average emigrant train made the journey. The mail riders reported there were many Mormon emigrants enroute west. Hosea learned that his own brother, Allen, was in the caravan.

The fourth anniversary of the arrival of the pioneers was the largest celebration yet held in the valley.

A county convention was held (July 26). Hosea was nominated for the House of Representatives from Salt Lake County. The general election to fill all legislative positions was held August 4. Those elected to the Council were: Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Daniel H. Wells, J. M. Grant, E. T. Benson, and Orson Spencer. Those elected to the House were: Wilford Woodruff, David Fullmer, Daniel Spencer, Willard Snow, W. W. Phelps, A. P. Rockwood, N. H. Felt, E. D. Wooley, Phinehas Richards, James Young, H. G. Sherwood, B. L. Johnson, and Hosea Stout

The emigrants began pouring into the valley (August 31) from the Bluffs. These pioneers continued to arrive until late in October.

General Conference was held September 7-9. It was at this conference that the political war between the Church and the Judges was to begin. Judge Bracchus took the initiative by condemning the Mormons strongly. President Young replied to his charges in even stronger language. On the last day of the Conference the people voted heavily to keep the word of wisdom and to cut all persons off the church who did not pay their tithing.

A seventh child arrived at the home of Hosea and Louisa on Constitution day, September 17, 1851. Eli Harvey was named in honor of the man who had taken a great interest in Hosea as a youth, given him a home and served as a friendly advisor during those critical years.

The Territory of Utah began to function on September 22, when the first session of the Legislature met to organize. In the House, W. W. Phelps was chosen Speaker; Albert Carrington, Chief Clerk; James Cragun, Sergeant-at-Arms; and John L. Smith, Doorkeeper. Hosea was elected a member of the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Public Printing. At the second day session Governor Young delivered his message to a joint session. September 24 an act was passed by a joint session commanding the U. S. Marshall to take into custody the seal, press, papers, and monies then in the possession of the Secretary of the Territory, Mr. Harris. This official had refused to use these funds to defray the expenses of the Legislature. Congress had appropriated \$24,000 to meet the expenses of Utah's Territorial Government. The Judges retaliated by issuing a restraining order on the Marshal. This prevented him from taking the funds by force. The following day the Assembly received a communication from Secretary Harris stating the Assembly was not a legal body and therefore not entitled to the Federal funds. Hosea's reaction was swift: "His explanation was too futile to mention. The document was taken as an insult by the House." The Assembly was not legal, Harris contended, because there had been no census taken, the Governor's proclamation was faulty in form and substance, aliens had not only voted and acted as officers at the polls, but had been elected to office; legal and timely notice of the election was not given, and the time and place of the first meeting was not duly appointed.<sup>1</sup> Every one of his charges were proven false. Professor Neff, in his *History of Utah*, page 170, says: "Governor Young had set the wheels of the governmental machinery in motion previous to the arrival of Secretary Harris by authorizing a Census and calling an election for membership in the territorial assembly and delegate to Congress.

<sup>1</sup>House Ex. Doc., 32 Cong., 1st Session, No. 25, pp. 25-6. Quoted by Bancroft, *History of Utah*, pp. 459.

Obviously, these executive documents lacked the signature of the secretary who, notwithstanding his belated appearance, condemned the waiving of the technicalities as illegal. Evidently he expected the territorial government to remain dormant until his arrival." The writer has carefully read the Organic Act but fails to find any provision for the signature of the Secretary to the executive documents issued by the Governor.

The war of words did not stop the counties from sending in their bills (September 26) for services rendered at the election. Congress had provided in the Organic Act (Section 11), one thousand dollars annually to be expended by the Governor "to defray the contingent expenses of the Territory." Harris decided to take this money back to the states. The entire Territory of Utah was all wrong except himself!

The Legislative Assembly, in a joint session, legalized all acts passed by the Assembly of the State of Deseret, provided these acts did not conflict with the Organic Act (September 27). The House on the same day passed a bill locating the Capital of the Territory somewhere in Davis County. This bill met its death in the Council. The Supreme Court made its contribution to the war of words by handing down a decision stating that the Secretary was not accountable to anyone in Utah. It might be added that neither was the Governor accountable to anyone in Utah, but this did not justify him in violating his oath of office. On the very day the Federal Officers left (September 28) for the States, Governor Young announced to a group of friends that he had a reconciliation with the men. Even Brocchus had apologized for his insulting remarks at the Conference. The Assembly passed a bill authorizing Judge Zerubbabel Snow to hold courts in the districts vacated by Brandebury and Brocchus. The following day (September 30), the Assembly endorsed a memorial, praying the President of the United States to fill the vacancies by appointing citizens from Utah.

Those last two days of the Legislative Assembly saw other vital decisions made. The Chancellor of the Univer-

sity was authorized to appoint a Commission to supervise the common schools at a salary not to exceed \$1000 annually. A Committee on Territorial Expenditures was appointed. The members were Wilford Woodruff, Hosea Stout, and B. F. Johnson. Another committee was appointed to revise and classify the Laws of the State of Deseret during the recess. The members of this committee were Hosea Stout, David Fullmer, and Phinehas Richards. The Assembly then adjourned (October 1) until the first Monday in January—1852.

Allen Joseph Stout, the brother of Hosea, arrived from the Bluffs (October 2) after a 90-day journey across the plains. Large companies of emigrants were arriving during this season. General Conference was held on October 5-6. Since the Territory of Utah did not recognize the State of Deseret as a legal government, all lawyers had to be re-admitted to the bar. October 8 three attorneys were admitted: George A. Smith, W. W. Phelps, and Hosea Stout.

The famous Howard Egan Case came up (October 17) for trial. He was defended by George A. Smith and W. W. Phelps. Seth M. Blair, Attorney General, served as prosecuting attorney. Judge Snow presided over the trial. When Egan returned from the California mines, where he had gone to seek employment, he found that his wife had been seduced by James Monroe. This sin had resulted in the birth of an illegitimate child. After appraising the situation, Egan killed Monroe, who was a Jack-Mormon, then made a full confession to the proper authorities. State Attorney Blair stated the case for the prosecution. W. W. Phelps began the arguments for the defense. He used Bible History, Homer, Virgil, and the last authorities on seduction as precedents to prove that Egan was justified in his act. George A. Smith then took the stand and used stronger arguments: "No man can seduce the wife of another without endangering his own life. . . . The man who seduces his neighbor's wife must die, and her nearest relative must kill him." Judge Snow instructed the jury to bring in a verdict of not guilty. After retiring for 15 minutes, they did, so Egan was discharged. "This," says Hosea, "is like-

ly to be a precedent for any who has his own wife, sister, or daughter seduced to take the law into his own hands and slap the seducer."

There were no law schools in Great Salt Lake City in the early fifties, but members of the legal profession were strongly in favor of establishing one. At a social meeting of the bar (December 2) it was decided to establish the nearest thing to a law school possible under the circumstances. Judge Snow consented to give free lectures on legal topics once a week in the State House. These classes were held during the winter months.

### 1852

The Legislative Assembly convened January 5. Both houses organized then met jointly to hear Governor Young's message. The session was to be a busy one for Hosea. He first introduced a bill creating the office of Treasurer and Auditor of Public Accounts, and defining their duties, passed January 19. He performed his first matrimonial ceremony January 9. The victims were Benjamin Allen and Adeline Butterfield. The bill relating to the Code Commissioners was passed January 13, Hosea had been its sponsor. The Assembly passed (January 14) a resolution to petition Congress to appropriate funds to build a road from Fort Hall to San Diego, via Salt Lake City. The same day the Committee on Rules reported a bill for the government of both houses. Henceforth they were to be guided by the Holy Ghost. The Committee on the Militia met in the evening and decided to create a Lieutenant General for the Nauvoo Legion. Five days later, January 19, Hosea met with a committee which prepared a bill to create County Commissioners. Representative Brimhall introduced a petition (January 20) requesting a Charter for Cedar City; this was passed three days later. A bill to incorporate the City of Lehi was introduced (January 30) into the House, where it was passed the next day.

The Legislative Assembly met in secret session to hear a special message from the Governor. At this meeting the Governor presented communications from the States which

reflected public opinion regarding the run-away Territorial officers. The papers in the East were either strongly against the Governor or were his vigorous defenders. Hosea explains, "They have not heard our side of the story yet." Later, when the truth did penetrate the East, there was a favorable reaction toward the Saints.

Since the session was nearing its 40-day limit, both houses met jointly and completed the following bills: An act relating to a writ of habeas corpus was enacted. Control of Mill Creek waters was granted Willard Richards, waters below Neff's Mill were granted to Brigham Young. Improvement of roads in Emigration Canyon was authorized. One-third of the waters of American Fork were to be diverted into Dry Creek. A revenue bill was enacted into law. The Committee on Manufacturing recommended an appropriation of \$2000 for the operation of a woolen factory. Acts incorporating Cedar City and Fillmore were completed. Finally, (February 5) an act apportioning representation in the House was enacted. The Assembly then adjourned until February 17. The two remaining legislative days were spent in locating a county seat in Davis County at North Cottonwood Creek, and finally a bill was introduced and completed which provided that all officers of the state appointed by the Governor shall remain in office until replaced by official action. At the end of the session it was felt that the legislative program was not complete, so a special session was called to meet February 19.

The special session met in a joint body and there entered into a committee of the whole for fasting and prayer! Such procedure was unprecedented for a legislative body. Fasting and praying strengthened the legislators for the arduous tasks awaiting them. Prayer put the lawmakers in a more receptive mood to receive the Governor's message. Strange that Hosea remembered but one item in the message: Brigham recommended that the Assembly enact a law authorizing the Probate Court to grant divorces!

While the special session was sitting, the District Court met (February 24). Hosea was appointed temporary Prosecuting Attorney, a position which lasted but five days.



The Grand Jury was also in session. The Jury was investigating ox stealing, a racket common in that day. Hosea's duties as State Attorney did not interfere with his responsibilities in the House. An act regulating marks and brands was enacted into law. William Clayton was chosen recorder under the act. An act defining the boundaries of all counties was written in the statutes (February 26). The first time since the Territory was established, a memorial to Congress was approved which asked for the privilege of attaining statehood. This resolution was introduced before a joint session of the Assembly. It was adopted the following day (February 29). Henceforth, whenever there was serious conflict between the Saints in Utah and the National Government, efforts were made to achieve statehood.

Hosea was relieved of his duties as temporary prosecutor on March 1, when Governor Young appointed James Ferguson, Attorney General.

Other nominations were: Horace S. Eldridge to be Marshall; A. A. Giles, District Attorney in the Second District; and James Lewis, District Attorney in the Third District. A memorial to Congress for building a hospital in Utah was adopted by the Assembly. Orson Pratt, Hosea Stout, and David Fullmer were appointed to draft the memorial. The Assembly adopted (March 2) a resolution requesting the Secretary of the Territory to secure from the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury instructions for the use of weights and measures to be used in Utah. Six more memorials were authorized by the Assembly on March 3. The first asked for a railroad from the Missouri to the Pacific, a second for a telegraph line to Utah, a third for a weekly mail service to Utah, a fourth to extend the annual sessions of the Assembly from 40 to 90 days, a fifth to pay the expenses of the Indian Wars, and finally, to authorize the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to purchase title to Indian lands. On top of the day's achievements was the passage of a prohibition act, probably one of the first in America. March 5 nine Notary Publics were selected. A memorial for an appropriation to aid the Postmaster in Great Salt Lake City and another for a mine agent were adopted and

sent to Congress. On the final day the Assembly appointed William Snow (March 6) as Code Commissioner. The Assembly Ball which was held to climax the Legislative session was held two days before the session ended. This social, says Hosea, "was the best party ever held in the valley. The supper consisted of the best food to be produced in this place and plenty for all. The spirit of the people was calm, interesting, and lively. There were no ill-feelings to mar the occasion."

The session over, Hosea's work was just beginning. It was Hosea's assignment to take the laws passed by the Assembly, classify and prepare them for printing. This task lasted several months.

The mail service was very irregular in those early months. The California mail arrived March 25, the first since the previous October. Hosea's explanation that "the mail carriers are probably killed by the Indians" may have been correct. After another two months the mails from the East arrived (April 3) with the startling intelligence that Governor Young was to be replaced by General Doniphan of Missouri. This news was later proven to be false.

The completion of the new tabernacle in time for the General Conference, which met on the Church's twenty-second birthday, was an occasion for rejoicing. The size of this building was 123 by 65. It was beautifully arched on the inside. The speakers' stand was on the west and center. The floor ascended from the stand in all directions so that all in the building had a good view of the speaker. Its capacity was 2500 persons. On that day the Tabernacle was dedicated by President Willard Richards. The second day of the conference the Church authorities were presented to the people for their approval. Benjamin T. Clapp was the only one who was not sustained. The sessions ended on the eleventh. On that day President Kimball warned the brethren against taking the wives of those who had passed on and having these women sealed to themselves for eternity. Edward Hunter, who had been called the previous year, was ordained Presiding Bishop of the Church. He chose as his Counselors, Presidents Young and Kimball.

Five traveling Bishops were chosen: Seth Taft, Abraham Hoogland, David Pettigrew, David Fullmer, and Daniel Spencer.

Hosea received two appointments which were to enlarge his activities. April 20, he was made Clerk of the Board of Code Commissioners. May 17, he was appointed a member of the City Council. The first official act of the Council after taking office was an ordinance providing for a temporary hospital, located at the mouth of Emigration Canyon, the purchase being to prevent the introduction of diseases into the city by emigrants. Dr. Jerter Clinton was appointed head of the institution. Later the Council appointed a Mr. Phelps, Street Commissioner (June 15).

June 27, a date full of unpleasant memories for the Saints, brought good news from the East. The newspapers arriving in the valley announced that President Fillmore had re-appointed Brigham Young as Governor. This intelligence put the Saints in a celebrating mood for Independence Day. The citizens were awakened at an early hour by the roar of artillery and the serenade of bands. The Governor was escorted to the Tabernacle by 31 Veterans of the Mormon Battalion, accompanied by the roar of cannon. Inspiring speeches and national songs thrilled the audience. The program was climaxed by the reading of the Declaration of Independence by Hosea Stout.

The fifth anniversary of the arrival in the valley was fully celebrated. At sunrise three rounds of artillery were fired, then followed by serenading of several bands. The parade to the Tabernacle was unique. The flag led the procession, followed by marshals, exploring pioneers, Chancellor and Regents of the University, 24 aged fathers, 24 aged mothers, Captain Ball's band, 48 young men and women, 48 boys and girls, Captain Pitt's band, and finally, 24 warriors in uniform. Behind this group came the First Presidency, The Twelve, and a large group of Bishops. When the parade ended at the home of Brigham, the flag was unfurled on a liberty pole, accompanied by a salute of 24 guns. When the people were seated in the Tabernacle a spirited speech was delivered by George A. Smith. He

was followed by Ball's band and more speeches. Songs by the congregation ended the day's celebration.

Election for the Legislative Assembly took place on August 2. Only 150 votes were cast in the city. The only change in the Council was Franklin D. Richard's replacement of Edward Hunter. The new faces from Salt Lake County who were elected to the House were: John Brown, N. V. Jones, J. W. Cummings, and J. C. Wright.

The remainder of August, Hosea was busy with the Code Commissioners. A code for practice in the courts of law and equity was worked out and defined. Elias Smith was the chairman of this working body, Hosea was its clerk.

A great event in the life of Hosea took place August 28, when a special conference was held for the purpose of sending Elders abroad on missions. Eighty or more were called to distant lands. Hosea was called to head a mission to China! Three others were called to accompany him: James Lewis, Walter Thompson, and Chapman Duncan. Hosea's reaction to his call was genuine: "I feel well pleased with the mission allotted me and feel in the name of my Master to fill it to the honor and glory of God."

This special conference is not known in Church history for its selection of foreign missionaries. Decisions were made or announced at this conference which were to prove a turning point in the history of the Church. The second day of the meet Orson Pratt shocked the world by his famous speech on polygamy. The revelation on Celestial Marriage was first read, then the scholarly explanatory speech on the historical merits of the doctrine was treated by Pratt. The revelation was sustained by the unanimous vote of the people. Hosea's endorsement is stimulating: "To the great joy of the Saints who have looked forward so long and so anxiously for the time to come when we could publicly declare the true and great principles of our Holy religion. I feel that the work of the Lord will roll forth with renewed impetus. The nations of the earth will be stirred to investigate the truth of the gospel. The nation that has driven us out of their midst so unjustly and unlawfully will yet be

brought to a knowledge of the truth by virtue of this revelation."

Preparing for a mission of this magnitude was no easy task, for Hosea it required 53 days. Immediately after the conference the selected missionaries met at the Council House for instructions. Their plans for their departure were made. The missionaries going west had greater problems to solve than did those going east. Hosea spent seven weeks winding up his legal affairs, making provision for the welfare of his wife and three children. September 2, John Van Cott, N. V. Jones, and Hosea all resigned from the City Council, since all were going on missions. September 28 Hosea sold \$622 in government claims for post services in preparing the laws of the Assembly for publication. This enabled Hosea to leave his family in better circumstances than he had expected. After paying \$110 in tithing, he paid Daniel H. Wells \$340 in advance for his services in building a house for his family. He wanted to leave his family as comfortable as possible. His three brothers-in-law, Joseph, William, and Levi Taylor, harvested, threshed, and hauled his wheat crop from the farm into the city. "This," says Hosea, "was a great accommodation to me for I was too busy to do it myself." He sold his carpenter tools for \$65, a library of books for \$20, giving the same to Wells, making a total of \$425 toward the construction of a home.

October 16 the missionaries going west were set apart for their missions. Hosea was set apart by Wilford Woodruff. Hosea remembered a few of the things said in the prayer and wrote them down in his diary: "Thou shalt have power to go forth to that nation whose bars have been strong against other nations for many generations. The Lord has opened the way for thy footsteps to go among that people, thy words shall be as the words of angels of God unto them, and thousands shall be brought into the Kingdom of God through thy instrumentality. Thou shalt have power to command the elements and they shall obey thee. Thou shalt have power to perform mighty miracles, cast out devils, heal the sick, cause the blind to see for when thou shalt command in the name of the Lord thy commands shall be

obeyed. Though that nation and people may be shrouded in darkness and prospects before thee gloomy, yet it shall be light, the angels of God shall prepare the way before thee, that people shall receive the Gospel and be gathered unto Zion because of the mighty power of the most high God. Many shall also receive the Holy Priesthood for much of the seed of Abraham is among that people. It is one of the most important missions ever given to man, thou shalt have power to honor it." Fortified with such a great blessing, Hosea should have been able to convert even the cannibals of darkest Africa. The blessing did fortify Hosea for one of the toughest missions ever assigned to man.

Three days before leaving he made his farewell speech in the Tabernacle. He delivered a powerful testimony of the Gospel while his young son, Hosea, lay seriously sick at home. Commenting: "It seems that the destroyer is seeking to thwart the purposes of God by affecting my family. I feel to say in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ that the power of the destroyer shall be rebuked in my family, that my children shall be healed and their lives, and the life of my wife, held precious before the Lord."

After securing a horse for the journey, his preparations were nearly complete. One day before leaving he described his situation thus: "Today I have completed my business very satisfactorily. I have been prospered beyond my most sanguine expectations since I was appointed to go on my mission to China. I feel that the hand of the Lord is upon me, notwithstanding the sickness of my children. I feel an assurance that they will recover and be prospered while I am gone. I feel to dedicate my family, myself, and all to the God of Israel invoking His blessings upon them. I have been enabled to leave my family well provided for in food, clothing, fuel, and \$120 in cash, besides a good, comfortable home now in the process of building. I leave them in the hands of the Lord and command them to His mercy and care."

For a man who could not see the dark future, one must admit that Hosea was a man of great faith.

## THE CHINA MISSION

The day of departure (October 20) was unforgettable. 'After taking the parting hand of my wife and children, I bid adieu to family and all Saints in the peaceful city and took my departure to a nation whose language, manners, and customs I knew not.' (Four hundred and fifteen days later he returned.)

Besides Duncan, Thompson, Lewis, and Stout, there were three other missionaries enroute to other missions who joined the company to California. These men were Chauncey W. West, Richard Ballantyne, and William Fotheringham. These men had secured a wagon which was drawn by four horses. Hosea was permitted to place his luggage in their wagon, thus enabling him to ride his own horse more comfortably. They camped the first night at Charles Terry in Sandy and at Joel Terry's near the point of the mountain, the next. Here Hosea writes, "the party was treated to all the beer we could drink." At the point of the mountain they took a last look at the city. They could see President Young's home, which looked "like Solomon's Temple in the midst of the Glory of God. Here we bid a last adieu to the peaceful city and proceeded on our way."

In Lehi the party camped at Bishop David Evan's home. While there Hosea visited his aged mother-in-law, Mary Bennett. In Provo the party was entertained (October 22) by Oliver Stratton. That evening they were joined by twelve other missionaries enroute to California. This made their party 19 strong. At Summit Creek (Payson), they were joined by 19 more missionaries. The train of wagons by this time made quite an "imposing appearance." At Willow Creek, ten miles south, a brother Wolfe gave the travelers grain for the horses. Said he: "I had more than I know what to do with."

In Salt Creek a meeting was held. A spiritual feast was enjoyed by all. The missionaries held a special meeting to organize for the dangerous trip through the Indian



country. Hosea was chosen Captain; Nathaniel V. Jones, Chaplain; Burr Frost, Sergeant of the Guard; and Amos M. Musser, Clerk.

The journey south from Salt Creek, the company exercised caution wherever they camped, taking turns standing guard in case of Indian attack. The second day from Salt Creek they arrived in Fillmore, where the Saints treated the missionaries very kindly. Anson Call was host to Hosea.

The site for the Capitol was visited, the building was then partly built. Before leaving Hosea attended the Probate Court, where he was asked to serve as prosecutor against a man charged with resisting an officer. For his services he was given a cow. He traded this cow to Anson Call for twenty dollars worth of corn which he needed for his horse. In addition Call gave him five dollars. "The Lord helps His missionaries where they are entitled to assistance," observed Hosea.

The journey south took them through Cove Creek, where the party met William H. Kimball enroute to Salt Lake. Hosea gave Kimball the five dollars and asked him to deliver it to his wife. At Parowan the town turned out to give them a real welcome. Under the leadership of George A. Smith a meeting was held, the missionaries doing the speaking. The day following (November 2), while Franklin Pierce was being elected President of the United States, the missionaries held another meeting to chart the balance of the journey. George A. Smith attended to give the missionaries the benefit of his counsel. Amos M. Musser, the Clerk, gave some statistics worth recording. In the group there were 38 missionaries, 4 of them being assigned to China, the remainder to California and other missions; there were 15 wagons and 46 horses. The missionaries attended a social held in the Tabernacle in their honor. Dancing, singing, and games were enjoyed by all. The following day fast services were held. The missionaries joined the Saints in preaching and praying. President Smith gave the missionaries valuable instructions to aid them in their foreign fields.

The fifteen-wagon caravan moved (November 5) on to Cole Creek (Cedar City), where the Saints, under President Henry Lunt, entertained the missionaries. "They came in flocks to bid us welcome to their homes and our horses to their grain." A meeting was held in the evening where Hosea delivered an address. The following day the Elders visited the iron works, whose operations were just beginning. It was then believed that enough iron could be produced to supply all of Utah. November 7 was Sunday, so the missionaries rested. At Church services President George A. Smith delivered another address to the missionaries, in which he made some interesting predictions: "The people to whom the missionaries preach shall hear their words, the sound of which shall tingle in their ears. Every language the missionaries attempt to learn shall be learned quickly and efficiently. Many of the missionaries shall be called to stand before kings and princes to bear their testimonies."

The time arrived (November 8) for the Elders to depart for the deserts, colored mountains and Indian country—all of which made the outlook very depressive for the travelers. Taking a southwesterly direction, the company passed through Iron Springs to the upper stream of the Santa Clara River, near the place where Pine Valley now stands. The company followed this stream until it joined the Virgin River. The route down the Santa Clara was very rough and dangerous. The path down the Virgin was even rougher. The stream was crossed 16 times. The canyon was impossible to follow at certain points, forcing them to climb out of the canyon, using ropes to pull the wagons up. The last time the party left the Virgin Canyon, it was necessary to double up with teams, then 20 men on a long rope to pull each wagon to the top. The men and horses were completely exhausted when the last wagon reached the top. The party moved across the high plateau to the Muddy River. There were many Indians in the region. These savages gathered around the camp, watching for an opportunity to steal from the missionaries. After an unsuccessful attempt the Elders drove the Indians entirely out of their camp. The Indians would then stand on distant hills, and call "nara, nara wap," meaning swap. Shaking

their articles which they wanted to trade, and yelling in hideous tones, the missionaries could only ignore their presence. "These Indians," says Hosea, "were the most low, contemptible, degraded and dishonest of any I ever saw. They were worst than the Omahas, I believe, more treacherous and fickle."

From the Muddy, fifty miles of desert was traveled before reaching Las Vegas (November 18). "This is the first stream, since leaving the basin, which could be used for irrigation. The soil is very fertile. We find the wild cabbage, grapes, but no timber nor enough water to sustain a settlement large enough to be secure against the Indians. It is a most desirable spot where the weary traveler can sit down in calm repose and rest himself after passing the parched desert. At the head of the Las Vegas is a spring of boiling pure water, twenty feet wide and two feet deep."

Sixty-seven miles in five days brought the company to Saleratus Creek. Here they met Amasa Lyman and C. C. Rich, enroute to Utah with a group of returned missionaries. Elder B. F. Grouard had spent nine years in the Society Islands, and John Murdock had completed a mission in Australia. The two companies camped together (November 24) to exchange experiences and write letters to families at home. A campfire meeting was held, where Lyman and Rich did the speaking. The drinking water was contaminated with alkali which nearly killed some of the horses. "This region," says Hosea, "was the most desolate, dry, mountainous and picturesque place I have even seen."

The companies separated, each going in opposite directions. The missionaries traveled 26 miles deeper into the bleak desert, camping at Bitter Springs, where the water was excellent and the grass plentiful.

The last thirty miles of desert was begun November 27. The roads were all up-hill and sandy. The animals were completely exhausted when camp was reached late at night. This region was rich in wild grapes. The next five days were the hardest for both man and beast. The horses were so weakened from starvation and lack of water that little progress could be made. Provisions for man were almost

gone. The summit of Cajon was reached (December 2) and the 8 miles down the mountain began. When the bottom was reached, Hosea says, "men and animals were completely used up and I am sick." After a night's rest, the trip down the canyon was more enjoyable. The country was warm, mellow, and the wind sweet and exhilarating. "Happy country," thought Hosea, "with no winter."

At San Bernardino (December 3), "we were received by the Saints and offered their firesides" like returning heroes. Hosea and several others were invited to the home of John Harris, an old acquaintance. Hosea spent ten days in the city visiting old friends, resting, writing letters home, and preparing for the next step of his mission. San Bernardino had been purchased from the Mexicans in 1851 by Lyman and Rich for \$78,500. The crops on the 1800 acres had yielded well the past season. "Everyone has plenty, the products of the soil bring a good price. Nothing prevents the Saints from getting rich here."

The "vacation" over, the Elders began leaving for their respective missions. Elders Brown and Thomas left (December 14) for British Guiana in South America. Those going to the Sandwich (now Hawaiian) Islands, Australia, Siam, and India, left for San Francisco, December 17. On that day a friend gave Hosea sixty-eight dollars to help him on his mission. December 30 he spent part of the day hunting his lost horse. In the evening he attended a prayer meeting, little realizing that on that same day his wife gave birth to her last child, Joseph Allen, who was destined to live but ten days.

## 1853

The missionaries attended services (January 2) in San Bernardino, receiving spiritual and temporal encouragement for their great tasks. The China missionaries received \$55, which was contributed by the Saints. Hosea received an additional \$30 given by friends. The caravan left (January 4) for San Pedro, where they arrived two days later. Hosea was quite thrilled by the sound of the ocean waves, the first he had ever seen. Hosea was not thrilled by the quality of

the lodging he was forced to accept while waiting for a ship. "With all imaginable impatience, we waited for an opportunity to leave this loathsome, lousy, and miserable excuse of a lodging which San Pedro affords strangers." Walter Thompson, one of the four going to China, had become very sick during the last part of the trip, was unable to proceed farther, so remained in Southern California.

*The Sea Bird*, the ship the missionaries were waiting for, docked at midnight (January 7). The missionaries were unnecessarily aroused from their sleep to go on board. They stood in the rain till daylight before being allowed to go on board. Even then the ship did not pull anchor till noon. Meanwhile, Hosea was so sick during the wait he nearly caved in. The passage to San Francisco cost each missionary \$55. The first morning at sea found the ship docking at Santa Barbara, the second at San Luis Obispo (January 11). It was on that day that Louisa died, following complications of child birth. The child had died two days earlier. Hosea never learned of this tragedy until his return from China late in the year. Another overnight voyage brought the ship to Monterey. The midnight following the ship entered San Francisco Bay.

At daylight (January 13) the missionaries, loaded down with luggage, went ashore, secured rooms, organized into committees, and went into the city to solicit funds for the mission. Fourteen dollars were collected. At the lodging they met James Brown, who had just returned from a mission to the Society Islands. Little realizing they would be tied up in this port 43 days, the missionaries began making preparations for their passage to China. Hosea first purchased his clothes, then in company with Lewis and Chapman, began a search for a ship that might be going to China.

Hoseas' description of San Francisco's society is well worth recording: "The stores, churches, gambling houses, houses of ill fame, hotels, brokers, bankers, and lawyers all mingle and mix and intermix with every degree of compound as though all classes and grades of society were one heart, mind, and in full fellowship with each other. All

traders, professions, industries, and occupations are equally honorable." America has long been known as a melting pot.

Contributions to the missionary fund proved very successful. A member T. S. Williams, donated \$500. A Jew who was very friendly to the Saints donated a large sum. The total amount raised was \$6250, which was distributed to the different missions on a percentage basis. The passports from Washington were received January 22. These documents had been secured by J. M. Barnhisel, Utah, Delegate in Congress. These papers entitled the missionaries to proceed in securing their passage to China. In possession of their credentials, the missionaries were in a position to secure passage on the first ship leaving for China.

A temporary contract was made with Captain Vanhees to sail on the *Graf Van Hogendorf Holland* for \$128 (January 25), but this ship later (February 12) failed to sail. Two days later arrangements were made to sail on the *Bark Invincible*, which was due to sail on the 20th. Captain Augustus Myers agreed to take each for \$160. The day before sailing the *Invincible* was condemned as un-seaworthy. "This," says Hosea, "was a great disappointment to us. There is now no vessel in port bound for Hong Kong on which we can obtain passage." The Elders then made a careful search of the wharfs, seeking a ship which might be sailing, but found none that would be leaving sooner than three months.

The missionaries to other fields were more fortunate. The Australian and Sandwich Elders left February 1, while the India and Siam missionaries set sail on January 28. During their enforced wait the China missionaries were given \$430 by the local Saints. A letter (February 22) from his brother Allen told of the death of Allen's son in November, but had no news of his own family. Four days later Hosea wrote to his own wife, pleading for letters which he wasn't receiving. Three days later (March 1) he received another letter from Allen reporting that Louisa was the mother of a new son December 30, and that he (Allen) was a new father to a son whom he named in honor

of Hosea. The letter was dated January 1, the last communication from home before sailing; he was to be left in the dark until his return to the same port, August 23.

Meanwhile Elder Lewis located a ship which was due to sail in about ten days. Cost of passage was to be \$80 to Hong Kong. The other Elders visited the *Bark Hoorn* and found it satisfactory, both in price and living conditions. Before leaving Elders Duncan and Stout visited an ex-Chinese Missionary, "who discouraged our going without means of support. He does not believe we can depend on the Lord for our support there." While Franklin Pierce was being inaugurated President of the United States the Elders in San Francisco were being entertained at a social by the Saints in the city. A few days more of crowded preparations and the Elders went on board (March 8) the *Jan Van Hoorn*, where they waited another 24 hours before the ship lifted its anchor and sailed out of the bay. As the ship began its 47-day voyage Hosea was still in the dark about his three motherless children in far-away Utah.

The sea being rough the first day, Hosea was victimized by the usual sea-sickness. On board the ship, besides the 16 officers and the crew, there was only one passenger and the three missionaries. A Mr. Nash was enroute to the Orient. In addition there were 60 other persons who were considered freight. These 60 Chinese were stowed away in the dark, lower decks like "so many sick pigs" in their dens. It was more pleasant to watch the ocean, which reminded Hosea of life's ups and downs: "The smooth, heaving billows came sleepily and lazily along, tilting and rocking the vessel, flapping her sails, jesting at our anxiety to go ahead. How beautiful is the calm ocean, like hills and dales, ever rising, ever disappearing, ever changing her heaving bosom like the never-ceasing hopes and fears of the human heart."

Enforced idleness gave Hosea an opportunity to dream of the world he left behind. "Let us reflect on the past and prepare for the future. Now my wife and her little ones dance playfully before my imagination. The visions of home recall themselves. The Saints in peaceful Utah roll by, busy in their different occupations. Their fervent prayers



ascend on high in my behalf. The Kingdom of God rolls to all nations. Millions shout Hosanna when they hear the glad tidings, and gather together in that land which is my home, while the wicked howl and prepare for the doom which awaits them. I rejoice in the blessed association of home kindred and friends in the high mountains of Utah, between the rich valleys of Ephraim, where the prayers of faithful millions continually ascend to our Father to bless and sanctify Israel."

The voyage was without incident. In one 24-hour period they traveled 204 miles. On March 22 they passed 20 miles to the north of the Sandwich Islands. In April they traveled 240 miles. April 22 the ship entered the China Sea. April 26 they arrived in the harbor of Hong Kong.

The ship's reception was a strange spectacle for the missionaries. "We had scarcely dropped anchor when the deck was covered with Chinese and professional whites, all seeking gains at our expense." The Chinese were seeking honest employment, while the white women were selling themselves at any price." Elders Duncan and Stout went ashore (April 28) to seek information and appraise the situation. Mr. Emery, the ship's Chancellor, gave the Elders valuable information and offered them rooms for temporary lodging, which they gladly accepted. After moving their luggage to these rooms the Elders were ready to make a more careful investigation of the problem ahead.

Their first objective was to secure permanent lodgings. A Mr. Dudell, who seemed to be interested in the gospel, offered the missionaries his house, gratis, located 2 miles from the city of Victoria. Before moving (May 5) the Elders purchased clothing more suitable to the warmer climate. The American Consul was very co-operative, giving all the information he had. Rev. Johnson, a Baptist minister, was also very helpful.

The Dudell house proved quite favorable to the needs of the Elders. It served as a home, as well as a meeting house where Church services could be held. A Chinese servant was hired who did the cooking, chamber-maid work, and marketing, all for only \$6.50 per month. The Elders

felt that the Lord had opened a way "where we can offer our prayer to God, according to the plan of the holy priesthood." The Elders were shocked to learn that their American dollar had to be discounted ten per cent on all purchases. "It is the best place to get rid of money. San Francisco is behind the times."

The first sound of the gospel was heard in China on May 6, 1853. In one of the rooms of the Dudell house five Methodist soldiers had been holding meetings regularly. Elder Lewis paid this group a visit and explained that he and his companions were also preachers. The Methodists then extended the Elders an invitation to speak at their meeting. To Elder Lewis goes the honor of being the first to preach the gospel of the restoration in China, and land of spiritual darkness. Hosea also spoke at the meeting.

The Elders made a good impression on the group, judging by the benediction offered by the group leader. Said he, as quoted by Hosea, "He thanked God that we had been sent by His Holy Spirit to visit this dark and benighted land, to comfort those who mourn, and bring to a knowledge of the truth, that His Spirit might be a guide to our feet." "Such a response," continues Hosea, "was the very things we were sent to do." Other meetings were arranged for, the soldiers promising to bring more friends. "This," concludes Hosea, "may be an effective opening to plant the standard of the gospel in this land."

In tune with this invitation, a second meeting was held two days later, where six soldiers and one citizen attended. Elder Duncan "boldly declared our principles" while striking a severe blow at the popular religions. Hosea was worried lest they take offense, for the Methodist position was proven false. At the closing prayer the soldier "prayed most fervently for our success, thanking the Lord we had been guided by His Spirit to lead the heathen into Gospel light."

From all appearances, the Elders were making progress for very soon (May 9) these Methodist soldiers made a call on the missionaries, seeking more light. "They were very reasonable and gave great attention to what we said. Towards the last they did not dispute anything and acknowl-

edged that our doctrines were perfectly fair and reasonable. They borrowed a Book of Mormon, promising to read it with a prayerful heart."

Hitherto, the missionaries had only contacted members of the Caucasian race. On May 11, they made their first contact with two members of the Mongolian race, the people to whom they had been sent. On that day two Chinese visited the Elders purely out of curiosity. One was a product of the London Missionary Society, where he had spent eight years as a student and could speak the English language well. "We taught them the difference between their system and ours; the necessity of authority; the gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost which would lead them into all truth. This gift, if gained, would bless and teach them the gospel, which would eventually save them." The effect was encouraging, for they promised to see the Elders later.

Hosea called (May 13) on the Editor of the "China Mail," a man of influence in Victoria, and had a friendly interview. He was received very cordially and offered space in the paper to publish notices of meetings to be held. The Editor even offered the Elders the use of his lawn to hold meetings on. The Elders took advantage of the offer and scheduled a meeting for May 18. Meanwhile, Hosea wrote an important letter to President Brigham Young, making a report of the mission. This letter is more instructive than his daily diary, so it will be given in full. The letter has been preserved by the Church Historian, and is used by permission.

Hong Kong, Victoria  
May 16, 1853

PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG

Dear Sir:—

We have the pleasure of announcing our safe arrival here on the 28th of April, after a passage of 48 days. We had a very agreeable voyage and enjoyed ourselves well on the water. Arriving here, we took lodging a few days at one dollar a day each until we could look around and find out what to do. We are strangers in a strange land where darkness covers the earth and gross darkness the people. Here we find a people situated differently from others we have seen and less likely to receive the gospel. There is no common or middle class inhabitants here. There are few whites and

these are merchants, traders, all deeply engrossed in business. There are about two thousand soldiers, part of whom are natives of Cep-  
lon. We have commenced preaching to them, but with what success we cannot tell. They are closely kept in quarters till five in the evening and required to return at eight. There are a great many Chinese here in almost every circumstance in life, from the flourishing capitalist down to the extreme indigent beggar.

There is an over-supply of missionaries here, who are very unpopular among the citizens, soldiers, and Chinese. At least this is their own testimony. They (the people) accuse the missionaries of lazily passing off their time in ease and luxury, not caring for the benighted heathen whom they were sent here to enlighten. The Catholics are an exception. I am told they are very diligent and faithful in serving the people.

The Chinese are employed to do all the labor. No one here would dare to do his own marketing nor carry home his goods purchased at the store. We have to bow to the stern custom of hiring a servant to do our house work and marketing. When we purchase an article we have to pay a Coolie to bring it home. It would be an insult to a house servant to require him to do anything out of his line. For us to do his work is as unpardonable as it is unprecedented. The Coolies would consider themselves robbed of their lawful rights. It is cheaper, however, to yield to the customs than to do without them.

The Chinese are the most consummate money changers and shavers in the world. The sagacious Jew and the slippery Yankee are compelled to yield the palm and employ them in the banks and be shaved by them. The family servant makes a percentage on his marketing. They cannot be convinced that the practice is not just and honest, for all dealers make a profit, why not them? American money is discounted from ten to twelve percent. A common carrying Coolie can be hired for sixteen cents a day, while a good house servant for six dollars a month.

Concerning the rebellion in China, the present reigning Tartar dynasty usurped the government about 270 years ago. Since that time the nation has been ruled by these tyrants. They require the subject peoples to shave their heads and wear tails in token of submission. They impose many other customs and requirements repugnant to the conquered. The leader of the rebellion against the Tartars is a descendant of the deposed royal family and shows possibilities of defeating the Tartars. He declares himself directly commissioned by heaven to drive the usurping Tartars out of the realm. He will then proclaim peace and safety to all Chinese as soon as they submit to his rule. He gives no quarter to Tartars, putting to death all who fall into his power. He has offered a reward for the head of the Mandarins and other Tartar rulers. The

latest news is, the rebels have taken Nanking and are preparing to march against Peking; if successful, would prove decisive. Should the patriotis succeed in taking Peking, the Emperor would, if he escapes, seek safety over the big wall, while the country would come under their ancient rulers. The rebel leader has the sympathy of the nation. He has established a well-regulated government in all the conquered provinces, allowed the people to wear long hair without tails which is considered a good stroke of policy. There are, however, so many contradictory rumors afloat that it is difficult to tell what is the true state of affairs.

The foreginers in Shanghai have formed themselves into an armed neutrality to be ready for the worst—not knowing what may happen. There is a great deal of excitement in all the trading posts. The troops here are held in readiness to act as occasion requires. Part of the American fleet has arrived and is reconnoitering at Shanghai in preparation for rendering philanthropic services to Japan. All things taken into consideration, the country is in a state of excitement, very unsafe to penetrate to the interior. Even here (in Hong Kong) people do not feel very secure. In the event the patriotis succeed, many will leave Shanghai and seek refuge here. Piracies are as frequent along the coast of China as are murders in California.

China is divided into many provinces, each province having a different dialect, not understood by the others. Their written language is uniform and understood by all, having different sounds to the same character, but the same meaning. Their words are monosyllables and are represented by complex characters, except in compound words which have a character for each syllable. There are different meanings to the same sound distinguished by intonations of the voice as in music. These are divided into nasal, guttural, liquid, long and short sounds which are blended together and compounded *ad infinitum*, making the language very difficult to learn and utterly impossible without a teacher. These are the general principles, so far as I can understand them.

To our astonishment we found it as costly living here as in San Francisco. We are totally without means of support by labor, a prospect truly gloomy, causing a complete breakdown of our morale had we not evidence within us that we were sent of God to establish the gospel here. The lowest cost of a Chinese teacher will be about twent dollars a month. We can see no way of sustaining ourselves so as to learn the language. Our only hope now is to raise up a branch of the Church here which we have both the faith and hope we will, although there is no symptoms yet.

Do not feel that we are discouraged or cast down, for we only want the proper element to act on to assure success. The people are remarkably friendly and courteous, but care nothing for religion

or missionary activities. We long to hear from you, to receive comfort and counsel. I hope you will pardon the uninteresting dryness of this letter. Pray for us that we may have better news next time. We wish to be remembered to all the Saints and specially those who pray as one. That the God of Israel may bless his people and crown our labors with success is our prayer. Amen. Elders Lewis and Duncan join with me in this.

HOSEA STOUT

The meeting on May 18 was held as scheduled. About 200 persons attended. "Elder Lewis spoke on the first principles, contrasting our beliefs with other sects of the day. It was a powerful discourse; the group paid careful attention and made inquiries after the meeting. We feel that the ice of superstition is broken and a good work will follow." Two days later (May 19), a second meeting was held on the editor's lawn, several newspaper editors were present and expressed satisfaction with the message given. "I feel that we are making progress."

After these patches of success, Hosea sought consolation by writing his wife, whose life had ended 128 days previously!

A meeting was held (May 20) on the parade grounds, where 30 citizens and 200 soldiers moved in and out of the group in swarms. Elder Duncan did the talking and was listened to very attentively. Some made inquiries about the Church after the meeting. Hosea was highly sensitive of a changed attitude evidenced by the people. "It is amusing to see how nice and reserved the people act with an assumed modesty of a ticklish coquette who wants to talk but not be seen." The cause for this strange behavior was revealed when Hosea visited Mr. Dixon, Editor of the "Friend of China." From his paper Dixon showed Hosea three articles which were bitterly anti-Mormon. The first article related the stale account of the celebrated fugitive officers who left Utah in a huff. The second was a quotation from a columnist in the New York Tribune "who had worked himself up into a strange state of excitement lest the Mormons should overthrow the United States Government by the dangerous doctrine of patriarchal matrimony." The third was a quotation from the "Advocate and Reflector,"

a religious paper which had quoted Orson Pratt in the "Seer." This writer attempted to show the dangers from a "Mormon second marriage." He denounced the Mormons in the strongest language, but produced no proof that the Saints were in error. Such newspaper publicity, Hosea concludes, "may stir someone to investigate our religion." Before leaving, Mr. Dixon, in an apologetical spirit, offered the Elders complimentary tickets to the theatre that evening.

The publicity given by the papers came to the surface, even in the theatre that evening. Near the theatre entrance Hosea came face to face with a native who had attended one of the meetings. After introducing himself, he asked Hosea when another meeting would be held. When informed he turned and spoke to his companions in his native tongue. Turning to Hosea again, he explained that he had told his friends that "we believed in having more than one wife," hence their interest in attending another meeting. Even though the Elders had not mentioned polygamy, they now knew the subject was "humbused" throughout the island.

Typical of the worldly attitude was Mr. W. F. Bevan, Editor of the Hong Kong Register, whom Hosea interviewed May 24. He was very friendly, but denied the need for a priesthood, officers, an organization, or revelation. To him the materiality of God was absurd, but he possessed one virtue, he was willing to let anyone believe as he pleased.

The Elders placed a standing notice in the "Recorder," stating when all meetings would be held, weather permitting. To the chagrin of the missionaries, the attendance at these meetings rapidly decreased. Personal contacts were noticeably more and more difficult to make. Hosea had one interview with a Mr. Drinkie which was an exception to this rule. This man purchased a Book of Mormon because he said he was personally acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith. He claimed his grandfather owned the Hill Cumorah at the very time the plates were taken from the ground. Naturally he was interested in the Book of Mormon.

An anti-Mormon article was published (May 31) in the "Hong Kong Register" "which urged the necessity of



having the 'Mormonites' indicted for blasphemy and set to picking oakum and kept on bread and water.' Mr. Bevan, the Editor, replied in the same issue that the author's prescriptions savor too much of the dark ages, and recommended that the people let us alone. I confess I admire the Editor's judgment. When the devil begins to rage and howl it surely betokens that the Lord has a work to do. Therefore we feel encouraged in opposition."

The last meeting on the parade grounds, was held the same day ( May 31 ). There were about fifty persons who attended. Elder Lewis was the speaker, using comparative religions as his topic. The audience showed a marked "indifference toward the Elders and the subject. No questions were asked. The rain prevented a later meeting from being held. The street meetings were the only means the Elders had of making contact with the people. In despair, Hosea wrote: "The Lord controls our mission. We feel we need to exercise patience and rely on Him to open the way for the gospel in this land." Three times in succession no one attended the street meetings. "We feel that we have done all that God or man can require of us in this place. We have preached publicly and privately as long as anyone would hear. We have decided that our labors in this place be discontinued. With all the faith and prayer we are capable of we have continued our labors as long as we could obtain audience from even one individual. We find that no one will give heed to what we say, neither do they manifest any opposition, but treat us with the utmost civility, conversing freely on all subjects except the gospel. When we approach that subject they politely decline, saying they want to hear nothing on that subject. Thus we do not know of one person on this island to whom we can bear our testimony. Our staying here to learn the Chinese language with one friend to teach us is totally impracticable. This being the only port which is safe for foreigners because of the civil war, we have no place to fall back on except California, where we have concluded to sail the first opportunity and there await new orders from the First Presidency. We feel satisfied that our mission will result in good. We have obtained a knowledge of the peo-

ple and the country which we could never have gained otherwise. We feel satisfied and encouraged to press on and fulfill our mission as the Lord may open the way."

That same day (June 9) the Elders located the "Rose of Sharron," an English ship, and engaged a cabin for fifty-five dollars each. The ship was due to leave in 12 days. These last days were spent in making preparations for the long voyage and liquidating their missionary contacts. They witnessed a Chinese funeral with its strange customs and oriental antics. "The corpse was borne by coolies, preceded by a band dressed in red and playing strange airs. In the procession could be seen tables of flowers, pots of meat, cakes and roasts. Some in the parade were carrying banners on which were suspended lanterns and ribbons, all ornamented most fantastically, thus blending the civilized with the savage customs."

At length, the signal was given to move on board (June 20), so the missionaries purchased their provisions (since they were expected to feed themselves), packed their bags and moved on board. Twenty hours later the ship pulled anchor and sailed out of the harbor, ending a 56-day mission. The Church has never attempted to reopen that mission until the present time (February 1949).

The "Rose of Sharron" had a very interesting group of passengers. There were three whites, two doctors (color unknown), 39 male Chinese and 49 female victims of yellow slavers. The course took them 60 miles south of Formosa in a northeastern direction. The ship's company witnessed (July 25) a naval engagement between a whale and a thrasher. "The thrasher would raise itself 15 feet out of the water than fall on the whale, causing it to flounder exceedingly. This was repeated several times. Am told that a swordfish always accompanies a thrasher, keeping under the whale, thrusting its "sword" into the belly to keep the whale at the surface. The thrasher and the fish continue their attacks until the whale is dead."

After 26 days at sea the winds became very contrary, forcing the ship off her course. The patience of the superstitious Chinese on board soon ran out. They assembled on

deck and solemnly invoked Chin Josh to change the wind. While they were burning Josh sticks and casting Josh paper to the wind, one of the ladies sat on the deck resting her face on her knees, nervously twitching. Her act served as medicine to Josh to more favorably change the wind. The wind did change eventually, but not on Josh's account. After 62 days at sea the ship anchored (August 22) in San Francisco Bay.

Hosea lost no time walking to the Saints headquarters, where he knew he should have letters from his wife. The last word was from Allen, written January 1, reporting the birth of a son and the mother doing fine. The shock which Hosea received is best described by himself:

"The Saints all rejoiced to have us return, but the joy and satisfaction which I expected to be mine was darkened by sorrow and deep mourning. Happy in the anticipation of hearing from my wife, whose condition was critical when last heard from, greatly increased my anxiety to hear the result. My hopes were now doomed to be blasted by the inconsolable intelligence of the death of wife and son. Baffled in our hopes to establish a mission, I hopefully looked forward for consolation from her who was always ready to console me in hours of deep distress by proving herself the good angel in time of need. Why attempt to pen grief, disappointment, and sorrow which are totally unalterable? Why write the anguish which rends the heart? When the companion of our toils, the partaker of our sorrows and anguish of this mortal life is so rudely torn from our bosom, carrying her last tender offspring with her while we are absent and in blissful ignorance of the ravages of the destroyer. Why should I attempt to examine the feelings of the heart when I learned that Louisa was no more? Let those who have drunk of the bitter cup respond to my feelings and drop a tear of sympathy with me in this hour of deepest mourning."

The three Elders held a strategy meeting (August 24) to plan their next move. It was decided that Hosea return to the Valley and make a complete report of the mission to the President. Lewis and Duncan decided to remain until

more instructions arrived. While Hosea was making preparations to leave for San Pedro, Elders Cyrus Canfield and E. Wade arrived from Salt Lake (August 26) enroute to the China mission. They were greatly disturbed by the report from Hosea and his companions. This placed them in a very embarrassing position. They, too, decided to wait new instructions before leaving for China. Elder Canfield gave Hosea a letter from Allen, dated April 11. The letter stated that Allen was living in Hosea's house and was caring for Hosea's three children. Elizabeth was doing very well in her school work.

The arrival of the new missionaries for China created a situation which could only be solved by the First Presidency, so Hosea wrote a second letter to President Young, giving reasons for withdrawing from China. This letter was later published in the *Deseret News*, December 22, 1853, page 3. An abridgement of the letter follows:

San Francisco, California  
August 27, 1853

PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG

*Dear Sir:—*

We left this place for Hong Kong March 8 and have so soon returned to our starting point. We can truly say that we had the strongest faith that a good work would be done in that land. We found the situation and conditions in that country entirely the reverse from what we expected, which were based on the information we secured here in California. We found about 250 Europeans on the island who were unapproachable on account of their wealth and station, these look with contempt on all who are not in the same class with themselves. There are a few lawyers, doctors, and missionaries who live on the miseries of the lower classes. There are about one thousand soldiers, most of whom are Irish, Scotch, or blacks from Ceylon. These soldiers are very immoral and corrupt. The balance of the population comes from the several grades of Chinese, topped by the merchants and bottomed by the Coolies.

Very few of the Chinese speak good English. The unapproachable aristocracy of Hong Kong are the most inhospitable people in the world, from what we have witnessed we know this to be true.

We began to make our business known upon our arrival. We were given the privilege of living in an old decayed mansion for a short time, where we tried for an opening to preach. Some of the

people seemed quite friendly and wished us success. No suitable house could be obtained for holding meetings, so we took to holding street meetings. There we began to teach the principles of the gospel.

Some of the people professed to be acquainted with our society in England. These people gave to the newspapers undesirable stories of our people. This, however, did not discourage us. A few of our lectures were very well attended, but soon our congregations dwindled down till not a soul would attend. Not disheartened, we encouraged each other and continued to preach, visiting the people individually for private teaching so long as one person would hear. We distributed our literature, trusting in the God of Israel for His blessings, and pushed forward to find an opening to someone who would be interested in our message. We visited the Chinese who could speak English. These people are generally in the employ of the missionaries or the government and command high wages. They told us they had no time to talk religion.

At this time we began to feel by the spirit that the way was darkening, yet we continued to hope. Our books were returned without a desire to ask questions or give thanks. We looked to other parts of China where we had the privilege of visiting, but the chances of success were poor. The only safe place was Hong Kong, due to the spreading revolution. In many of those places the Whites were preparing to leave for Hong Kong to secure protection. To go among the Chinese we could not without being able to speak their language. Thus, things continued till we felt that nothing could be done at present. We could turn neither to the right nor to the left. Our funds were running low and the prospect for subsistence nil, we returned to California where we could wait the counsel of the Presidency.

The language is only obtained from a living tongue, as it cannot be expressed in English owing to the intonations and inflections of the voice in the same word, for, upon the sound depends the meaning. One word may have ten to thirty different meanings—this is given by the tone. Teachers are not easily obtained who can speak English. Their price is very high. These teachers are under the control of the missionaries. In each district in China there is a different dialect, one cannot understand the others, yet they use the same characters. The language must be obtained either by study or by the gift and power of God before we can tell them the truths of heaven. How this is to be done is the question which may be asked. That is the very answer we want to know.

The Catholic missionaries, who are mostly native, obtained the language while young. They adopt the manners and customs of the Chinese, shave their heads, wear tails and live as Chinese. For these reasons they have success; the other Christian missionaries do nothing.

Upon our arrival here (in San Francisco), we heard of Brothers Canfield and Wade being appointed to join us in China. After having consulted together, we decided to lay the situation of that country before you by sending Brother Hosea Stout to the Valley. He will leave in a few days in company with Brother Harvey Green by way of San Bernardino.

*Respectfully, we remain your brethren in the gospel,*

HOSEA STOUT  
JAMES LEWIS  
CHAPMAN DUNCAN

A meeting was held (August 28) at the home of Barton Morly, where Edwin D. Woolly and Harvey Green were the speakers. Eighty-three dollars were collected at this meeting and given to Hosea to enable him to make the journey home. He purchased a ticket for San Pedro August 30 on the Freemont, and arrived in San Pedro September 5. He immediately left on the stage for Los Angeles. September 7 was election day in California; Hosea reported that but one Spaniard was shot during the entire day! Hosea arrived in San Bernardino September 11, where he says: "I find the Saints all well and prosperous. Some of the crops have failed yet the community abounds with plenty." He was a guest at the home of William Mathews, who really made him feel right at home. The problem now facing Hosea was how to reach Utah. It was unsafe to travel alone, it was unsafe for small groups of men to travel, the Indians were reported very hostile. It was necessary to wait until enough people wanted to go to make the journey safe. Hosea waited 53 days before that opportunity arrived.

September 19 a meeting was held by those wanting to go to Salt Lake, but only 14 attended. This was considered too small a group. The group decided to wait till after the October Conference, when it was hoped more people would be going. Meanwhile, Hosea was forced to mark time as best he could. Hosea accompanied Charles C. Rich to Mill Creek Canyon, 20 miles away, to the old San Bernardino (September 21), where he saw a beautiful country dotted with rich farms which are planted in vineyards in a high state of cultivation. Hosea noted that Rich and Lyman had an excellent sawmill which could serve as an excellent money maker if properly managed.

Hosea served as an attorney (October 3) for Jose Maria Valdez in an ejectment case, for which he was paid twenty-five dollars. October 6-9 a general conference was held in San Bernardino, where Elders Amosa Lyman and Charles C. Rich were the principal speakers. News from Utah reported that two persons had been killed by the Indians. Those waiting to go to Utah met (October 16) to make plans for the trip. They decided their numbers were too small to make traveling safe.

One year from the day he left Salt Lake (October 20) Hosea could not resist thinking when "I was surrounded by all the endearing ties of an affectionate wife whose ashes now lie mouldering in the dust, and my children lonely orphans. My home with all its kindred ties is no more. I feel that I am a disconsolate blank. My tears dry in their fountains. I groan without a response for only those in like affliction can appreciate the heartfelt anguish that burns in his bosom who has had torn from him the dearest object of his heart, the solace of all his cares, the repository of all his joys and sorrows, the wife of his bosom. True, I am surrounded by friends who care for me, but only home and family can make happiness in this world."

Elder James Lewis arrived (October 25) from San Francisco and began making preparations to join the company leaving for the north. He purchased a span of mules and a wagon and offered Hosea space in his wagon to carry his luggage. Those leaving for Utah held another business meeting and decided to leave within 10 days, so preparations went into high gear for the start.

The struggle up to Cajon Pass required a full day of hard work, whereas now an automobile can spin up the grade in ten minutes.

When Hosea and Elder James Lewis reached the summit, both animals and personnel were completely exhausted. At the Mojave, where they camped, they met a group of railroad surveyors who were seeking a suitable route over the mountains for the future Southern Pacific. November 5, while some were hunting for lost horses, the group organized for the journey. Hosea, as usual, was chosen Captain,



other members of this group were: John Kimball, James Lewis, Elisha Hiett, Harvey Green, Washington and Madison Cook, Everett Osser, Hiram Curtis, David Hall, F. M. Perkins, Samuel Reed, and John C. Leonard. Seventy-eight miles in four days brought the company to Bitter Springs, where the real desert began.

Leaving Bitter Springs (November 10) they began the dangerous trip across the waterless desert. They met several long trains of emigrants driving large herds of cattle before them. At Salt Springs they found neither water nor grass for their horses, the latter had to be tied up to keep them from running away. Four days later they arrived at Cottonwood Springs. Enroute north of Cottonwood Springs they met a company of Mormon emigrants from Iron County who had become embittered toward the Church for declaring martial law during the Indian troubles. These people believe they were oppressed when called on to defend their families against the knives of the savages. To spite the Church they denied the faith and were returning to the world. November 21 the company reached Mountain Springs, where Hiram Curtis was hit by an Indian arrow. He was not seriously wounded but it put the company on its guard to prevent future attacks.

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November 22 the company started up the Rio Virgin to the Santa Clara, then followed the latter to its head. At Iron Springs they were greeted by friends, and at Cedar City the party met Erastus Snow and Franklin D. Richards. On arrival in Parowan (November 26) Elder Lewis met his family in a joyful reunion. "How different," Hosea writes, "will be my return home!" A Stake Conference was being held in Parowan, so Hosea and his companions remained to attend. Hosea was called on to make a report of the China mission. Apostles Snow and Richards presented the General Authorities.

The journey northward was resumed November 29. Representative C. C. Pendleton, from Iron County, joined the travelers. He appointed Hosea his guard so that he could make a little money enroute home. December 1, the

party reached Fillmore, two days later they crossed the Sevier. In Provo (December 5) he spent the night with George A. Smith. After an absence of one year and 49 days Hosea arrived back in Salt Lake December 8. The journey from San Bernardino had taken 35 days, 9 days less than the trip south had taken.

Hosea's return is probably the saddest experience of his entire life. We will let him tell his own story: "Here, not 14 months since, was concentrated all my earthly happiness. Here the confiding Louisa, the dearest object of my heart, the solace in all my troubles, and my innocent prattling children were left in perfect enjoyment of earthly bliss. From them I fled, as a refugee from trouble and disappointment. How often I have rejoiced that I was blessed with that true, faithful and confiding wife. Here, then, was my ocean of affection and love. I left them by the command of the Lord to preach the gospel in foreign lands, and returned but not to find them. Louisa was no more, the source of my happiness was beneath the cold sod. Here the very beginning of my desolation and loneliness seems to brood over the scenes of my gone happiness. What did I find? Even my brother had removed into the country (Centerville) so that no signs of former associations moved on the desolate place. A family of English Saints, total strangers to me, lived in my home. They could not tell me where my family was nor where my friends lived. I gazed upon the sad wreck of my happiness in silence. My heart sank within me. Those around me could not restrain their tears, so we all hastily withdrew from the place so full of sad recollections."

From the deserted home, Hosea went to President Brigham Young and made his official report of the mission. Tradition has it that Hosea told Brigham there was but one way to save the Chinese from hell. The method was to shoot all of them then do their work in the Temple!

Hosea's next problem was to find his children. He went to Centerville, hoping to find them at his brother Allen's home. He was doomed to disappointment, for Louisa's mother, Sister Taylor, had taken them to her place. There he found them the following day (December 9). The

children were "well and well taken care of, but if I felt disconsolate before, I felt overwhelmed in sorrow now when I embraced those dear pledges which Louisa had left of her love and fidelity. They were living evidences of the uncertainty of man's best and surest earthly hopes. But let me indulge no more in these sad thoughts which burn the vital cords of my heart."

## *A PIONEER STATESMAN*

Hosea had found himself in a new world. A new start had to be made. A widower with three children under six years of age, he had a problem to solve that tested his courage and fortitude. Although the mission had proved a tragedy, he returned a much wiser man than when he left. Like a rubber ball, the harder he was slammed against the floor the higher he bounced. Hosea emerged from the depths of despair to become one of Utah's leading citizens.

After a visit with his children he returned to the city to salvage what he could from his home. He found it in a horrible state of confusion. Several days were required to place his personal property in order. He took time out, however, to attend (December 13) the Assembly to hear the Governor give his message to that body.

Hosea visited the grave of Louisa. The soliloquy uttered is classic: "Her ashes lie sadly and happily. How quiet seemed that heart which once beat for me so warm. Her smiling countenance rests in death's embrace while I remain a blank, a monument of disappointed hopes. I have followed three wives to their graves and have seen the earth enclose seven of my children, yet I had hopes of better days, now hope had vanished, so I must give myself up to inconsolable sorrow."

Hosea was a guest visitor (December 17) at a meeting of the Regents of the University. (Later, December 29, the Assembly re-appointed him a member of that body.) The Regents were then working out a "new and simpler alphabet employing phonetic principles of sound. The object is to shape the letters so that they can be used in writing and printing."

Hosea was called three times to lecture or report on the China situation. December 19, he gave a lecture on China before the Council. Four days later he gave a lecture on the Celestial Empire before the House of Representatives. On Christmas day he reported his mission to the Saints

assembled in the Tabernacle. The last days of the year his sister Anna helped him prepare his house so that the children might be returned and cared for properly.

## 1854

The new year found Hosea serving on the Grand Jury. He was appointed (January 3) foreman of that body, requiring most of his time for several weeks.

He suffered another setback (January 9), when he married Mrs. Asinett Green, widow of William Green. She was the mother of three children, only one of whom was then living, a daughter nearly eleven years old. Asinett was the daughter of Henry and Agnes Harmon, born November 12, 1822, in Indiana. Jonathan C. Wright officiated in the marriage ceremony. Hosea took his new family to Davis County for a few days, then moved his entire family back to Salt Lake to live permanently.

A mass meeting was held (February 1) in the Tabernacle to memorialize Congress to route the contemplated Pacific Railroad down Provo Canyon and through Salt Lake, then west. Speeches were made by Almon W. Babbitt and James Ferguson. Hosea notes that "this is the first real move made in Utah on the subject."

The marriage was indeed a setback, for she failed to prove herself a companion and left Hosea's home in a huff, taking her daughter with her (March 18). Brigham had called Hosea on a temporary mission to Green River to assist Orson Hyde in making a settlement there. His children proved quite a problem. It was impossible to take them, his former wife refused to care for them, his mother-in-law was unable to take them, so finally he hired his sister Anna to come to his home and take care of them.

Meanwhile, the University Regents (March 24) adopted the Deseret Alphabet. Since Franklin D. Richards was going to England on a mission, the Regents sent the alphabet with him to have it typed and introduced there. Parley P. Pratt delivered (April 2) a powerful address in

the Tabernacle, denying that the Mormons were responsible for the murder of Captain Gunnison as charged by the "Missouri Democrat." At the General Conference (April 6-8), Jedidiah M. Grant replaced Williard Richards in the First Presidency, and George A. Smith was appointed Church Historian. Plans to establish new stakes in Ohio, Missouri, Nebraska, and San Jose, California, were announced. Three mission presidents were appointed: Orson Spencer to Cincinnati; Erastus Snow to St. Louis, and Parley P. Pratt to San Jose, California. Thirty-four other missionaries were called. The theme of the Conference was a warning against marrying gentiles or winter saints. Hosea names a Mr. Hartley who typifies perfectly a winter saint. Originally this man was wanted in Oregon for horse stealing. In his flight from justice he stopped off in Salt Lake, joined the Church and married a Mormon girl. At the time he was exposed he was aiming to secure his endowments and go to Texas on a mission for the Church.

During the two months that Hosea was preparing for the Green River mission he was also practicing law and serving with the Grand Jury. On May 1, when the group leaving for the east was all ready, Hosea found himself totally unprepared. He could not leave his children to starve. Supplies and food stocks were provided, however, so that he left his children with Anna and joined the caravan going east. He placed his luggage and provisions in a wagon driven by W. A. Hickman.

The journey to Green River (May 7) was without incident except for a few breakdowns. Hosea's appraisal of the country was not complimentary: "This is the most forbidding and Godforsaken place I have ever seen. Judging from the altitude, I have no hesitancy in predicting the settlement will prove a complete failure. The brethren here have done a great deal of labor, however."

Green River County was organized (May 9) by Judge Appleby, who appointed Robert Alexander, Clerk; W. A. Hickman, Sheriff, Assessor, Collector, and Prosecuting Attorney. To allay the suspicions of the Shoshones, a peace mission was sent to "assure them of our good wishes toward

them and allay the prejudice which some unprincipled mountaineers had raised against us." A month later (June 15) the Indians responded to this mission by sending Elisha Ryan, a white who lived with the Shoshones, to learn from the pioneers what their intentions were on Green River lands. He informed the Mormons he had been sent by the Chief to learn whether the lands were to be occupied peaceably or otherwise. He warned the settlers not to cut the timber, build houses or establish towns on the land. The Indians wanted to be friendly, but were determined not to have their lands settled by the whites. The Indians were bitterly disappointed because the Federal Government had failed to make a treaty with them or send men to trade with them. Ryan claimed all the ferries on Green River and denounced the Legislature of Utah for granting charters to any white man. Accordingly, Ryan proceeded to take possession of the ferries by force, but was forced to relinquish them by Sheriff Hickman. This rebuff was naturally followed by a visit (June 23) from Sokoper, the Shoshone Chief, himself. He reiterated the warning against cutting the timber or establishing settlements, but admitted his heart was soft towards the whites.

During the month of June, Hosea reported the eastward movement of several groups of Mormons "who were tired of their religion and were desirous of leaving the territory of Mormonism." This was in fulfillment of a prophecy made by the Prophet, who said the Saints would be driven to the Rocky Mountains and that many would apostatize. These spiritual weaklings had been unable to realize that faith required works.

Hosea's two months in Green River were occupied in practicing law and performing other services for the community. July 1 he placed his luggage in John Mott's wagon and left for home, arriving July 7. He found that during his absence Asinett had obtained a divorce, much to his relief.

Within one day after arriving, Hosea was deep in the practice of law. July 8 found him defending Warren Smith in a larceny case. Other cases kept him busy throughout the summer. In the general election of August 7 Hosea



found himself elected to the House of Representatives. Others elected to the same body were: Jedediah M. Grant, Samuel W. Richards, Horace S. Eldredge, Lorenzo Snow, Edwin D. Woolley, James W. Cummings, W. W. Phelps, and John L. Smith. Those who were elected to the Council were: Albert Carrington, Orson Pratt, and Wilford Woodruff.

William Hyde returned (August 15) from his mission to Australia. He had accomplished a great mission and had returned with a company of Saints. He had made the trip to California with Hosea in November, 1852. In a public address (August 20), Brigham Young proposed that Saturday be made a day of rest and preparation for Sunday. He also proposed that all persons who leave the territory without counsel be cut off from the Church. He also condemned "land sharking."

William and Warren Weeks, sons of Allen Weeks, were killed (August 23) by two Indians named Longhair and Antelope, in Cedar Valley. The act was in retaliation for the death of two Indians the previous year at Salt Lake. The Indians were indicted by the Grand Jury, August 25. The two Indians had been brought to Salt Lake by two other Indians who were friendly to the whites. Hosea and J. C. Little were appointed by the court to defend them. The evidence was plain and positive that the Indians were guilty. An eye-witness testified at the trial, followed by their own confession, which doomed the defendants to a verdict of "guilty as charged." A sentence of death was handed down (September 1) which was carried out fifteen days later. This was the first execution in the Territory of Utah.

Competition among merchants came to Utah in September, 1854. The opening of the J. M. Horner Store started the prices rolling downward. This excited the old merchants, who reduced their prices lower than Horner. The price war proved a great blessing to the people of Utah. The only event mentioned by Hosea during the General Conference was the appointment of Horace S. Eldridge to the First Council of Seventy, to replace J. M. Grant, who was promoted (October 8) to the First Presidency.

In company with Judge George P. Stiles and Marshal James L. Haywood, Hosea left (November 7) for Parowan to attend the November term of the U. S. District Court, arriving nine days later. While waiting for the court to convene, Hosea sized up the town and its prospects. The city is "in a flourishing condition. A new grist mill is nearly ready to begin operations." When the court met (November 20) it was forced to recess a few days while the Grand Jury completed its findings. Meanwhile, Elder C. C. Rich and George Q. Cannon arrived from San Bernardino. The latter had just completed a five-year mission to the Hawaiian Islands. This is the first mention of the Church leader.

The court cases being completed, the party left (November 24) for the north. At Fillmore they found the state house nearly completed. "The good citizens here are in high hopes that the Legislature can meet here next year." The party arrived in Salt Lake December 3, where Hosea immediately returned to his law practice.

Both houses of the Legislative Assembly met (December 11) in the Council House and proceeded to organize. J. M. Grant was chosen Speaker of the House; Thomas Bullock, Clerk; Robert T. Burton, Sergeant-at-Arms; and George Q. Cannon, Messenger. The Governor's message was read by William Clayton at a later joint session. In J. M. Grant's acceptance speech he thanked the House for the trust placed in him. Committee assignments were made, after which the recommendations of the Governor were referred to the respective committees. This enabled the House to proceed with their regular work. The House appointed a committee to draft an Act which would regulate the State Prison. J. W. Cummings, Hosea Stout, and Loren Farr were made members of that committee.

It was Hosea who moved (December 19) that both houses meet jointly and choose the Territorial officers. The following vacancies were filled. Elias Smith to Code Commission; Albert Carrington, Attorney General; Andrew Love, District Attorney in Second District; Jonathan Browning, Probate Judge of Weber County; Isaac Bullock, Probate Judge of Green River County; Ira Eldridge, Territorial

Road Commissioner; and Daniel Corn, Warden of the Penitentiary. A Committee was appointed to draft a memorial to the President and Congress to re-appoint Brigham Young for a new term as Governor. The members chosen were: Albert Carrington, Hosea Stout, John L. Smith, Samuel W. Richards, and W. W. Phelps.

The last recorded event of the year was a party given by Judge Kinney to honor Col. Steptoe. The social was held December 26 in the Union Hotel ballroom, where Mormon, Jew, and Gentile mingled together as saints and sinners. "Judge Kinney, though a stiff Presbyterian, claimed never to have graced a ballroom before in his life. He could not refrain from dancing with a spirit well becoming the occasion."

### 1855

A party was given January 1, by the Governor and Legislative Assembly in honor of Judge Kinney, Associate Judges and Colonel Steptoe and his officers. Hosea's description is interesting:

"Great care had been taken to procure and prepare the best food this Territory could produce. The table was beautifully decorated. The first course was oyster and ox-tail soup. The second course had 24 varieties of meats and vegetables. The third course had 21 different desserts." Dinner was served at 8 p. m. and supper at midnight. Between these servings ice cream was served. The guests were entertained by singing, speaking, and dancing. The party broke up at 2 a. m. during a heavy snowstorm.

The Legislative Assembly reconvened the first Monday in January. Their first act was to take a slice of Weber territory and give it to Davis County; then a slice of Davis territory was given to Salt Lake County.

Mr. Samuel W. Richards presented (January 15) a petition from the Board of Regents asking for an appropriation of \$1500 for the establishment of a high school in Great Salt Lake City. The bill was referred to the Committee on Appropriation who, two days later, made an unfavorable report based on a shortage of funds.

Mr. Green presented a resolution in honor of the memory of Willard Richards:

“Resolved by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, that we hold in grateful remembrance the Honorable Willard Richards, President of the Council, friend and associate of the Prophet and Patriarch in peace, and their companion in assassination. We have in remembrance his cheering influence in times of trouble, the sweet associations of his instructions, his wisdom in legislation, he whose constituents comprise the whole world legislates for the redemption of Israel.”

The last act of the assembly (January 19) was to appoint the second Monday in December next for the opening of the next session of the Assembly at Fillmore.

Brigham Young's health caused quite a debate in Utah. The Legislative Assembly had petitioned the President to have him re-appointed Governor of the Territory. Orson Pratt thought it unwise to have him appointed for a second term. Others who believed his health was only temporarily poor, insisted that he be re-appointed. Hosea notes “much excitement for and against, but nothing hostile.”

Qualifications to practice law in the fifties were as inexact as they were for teaching. Hosea reports that he and Orson Hyde were permitted to plead before the Supreme Court (January 29). This court did little more than “adopt rules and admit persons to the bar who never read, studied, nor even looked into a law book!” This court finally settled an issue which had been hanging fire since the organization of the Territory. The court held that the common law was in force notwithstanding a territorial law to the contrary. The fourteen-day session ended (February 10) after disposing of only three cases.

Sessions of the District Court were held in Ogden (March 5-10). While in Ogden, Hosea visited Green Taylor at Bingham's Fort (now Lynne), where he saw John Taylor (an older brother of Louisa). Taylor had left Nauvoo in 1844 and went to Texas with Lyman Wight's company. He came to Utah in 1854, a sadder but wiser man after his unfortunate experiences.

At the General Conference in April 154 men were called to fill missions, many to the Indian tribes. The law of Consecration was adopted and inaugurated as a doctrine of the Church. Hosea was appointed (April 9) by the Church officials to collect the debts due the Perpetual Emigration Fund. This appointment would not have been necessary if all the beneficiaries of the perpetual fund had been honest. Some of these people whom the fund had aided in reaching Utah had left the Territory without making a settlement; others were planning to leave. Hosea filed several suits against persons who were preparing to leave without making a settlement. "There are a number who have been brought from the old country on this fund endeavoring to leave without paying, thus forgetting the kind aid received to bring them from bondage to this land of liberty."

An incident which proves the principal character in this history was more than a statesman, he was a great statesman. Albert Carrington, the Attorney General of the Territory, asked Hosea to aid him in drawing up an indictment against Captain Rufus Ingalla for abducting a female child. While preparing these papers an emissary from the Ingalls camp offered Hosea a handsome fee if he would switch to the defense. This offer was turned down. Later (April 21), A. W. Babbitt, who was in charge of the defense, visited Hosea and offered him five hundred dollars if he would join the defense, "but my mind is made up to defend our own rights in preference to pleading for money!"

Judge Kinney was one of those who wanted President Young removed as Governor of the Territory. He was after the Governorship himself. With these objectives in mind, Kinney started for Washington to plead with the President. Two days later (June 2) Judge Kinney returned! "The thoughts of the Indians and the high waters of the Weber proved too much for his courage!"

Independence Day was celebrated by the roar of artillery, ringing of bells, the serenading of bands and the delivery of speeches. None of these acts describe the sentiments of the time half so well as the soliloquy of Hosea: "I

began to feel proud of my country and while congratulating myself for being born an American in old Kentucky, I beheld the Nauvoo Legion assembling as though they were determined to let the rest of mankind know how we valued liberty. I felt my courage rise, too, and could in my very own soul damn all secessionists and political demagogues who seek to strike our free institutions and sacrifice our constitution at the shrine of corrupt ambition and party strife. Glorious government! free and equal, but I remembered I and all my friends are exiles from this glorious government. Exiled American exiles!"

July 9, Hosea notes three important news items: Sevas-topol had not fallen, Brigham Young was still Governor, and W. W. Drumond arrived in Utah; this last event meant trouble.

If a reader of Hosea's dairy wanted to find any indications of romance in his writings, he would be doomed to disappointment. Suddenly, without warning, he announces (July 19) his marriage to Miss Alvira Wilson, daughter of Lewis Dunbar and Nancy Ann Waggoner Wilson, born April 21, 1834, in Green, Richland County, Ohio. Presi-Brigham Young officiated in the ceremony. Alvira was destined to be the mother of eleven children, and to outlive her husband by twenty-one years. Within one day after the marriage, he had sunk back into his law practice as though nothing had happened!

The eighth anniversary of the arrival of the Pioneers was celebrated in Provo. A serious accident marred the day's rejoicing. While attempting to fire the cannon it exploded. A piece of the gun hit a young man named Nixon, killing him instantly.

In the general election (August 6, the following were elected: Delegate to Congress, John N. Barnhisel; as members of the Council, Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells Albert Carrington, and Wilford Woodruff; to the House of Representatives, Jedediah M. Grant, William W. Phelps, Albert P. Rockwood, Samuel W. Richards, Jesse C. Little, Hosea Stout, Edwin D. Woolley, James W. Cummings, Phineas H. Young, William Snow, and Claudius V. Spencer. 227 votes were cast in the city.

Legal affairs found Hosea in Provo for several days in mid-August. Several companies of pioneers arrived in the valley after August 24. At the General Conference (October 6-9), Ezra T. Benson and Lorenzo Snow were called to the European mission.

In company with Anson Call, Hosea left (November 5) for Fillmore to attend the November term of the Second Judicial District. Hosea had been appointed temporary U. S. District Attorney. Anson Call, who was serving as Deputy U. S. Marshal, held in custody Levi Abrams, whom he was taking to Fillmore for trial for the murder of an Indian. After their arrival (November 11) in Fillmore, the Grand Jury was organized with John D. Lee as foreman. Judge Drummond, in charging the Grand Jury, used this opportunity to criticize the laws of Utah. Like the Dred Scott decision, this opinion was eventually to lead to war. In brief, Judge Drummond "declared that under the Organic Act, the Legislature could not confer civil and criminal jurisdiction by law on the probate courts. The Judiciary Act, conferring these powers on the probate courts, was not only contrary to, and inconsistent with, the Organic Act, but was an unwarranted seizure of power which amounted to an abnegation of all law. He instructed the Grand Jury that if they found any of the probate judges using civil or criminal jurisdiction, it was their duty to indict not only the judges, but all the jurors and officers who had acted under them. Also, if any person was found to belong to the secret order of the 'Star Spangled Banner,' it was their duty to indict these as conspirators against the Federal Government."

The Abrams case was the first to reach (November 13) the court. A. W. Babbitt served as Abram's defender and instructed him to plead not guilty. Several Indians were called as witnesses by the prosecution. When Chief Parrah-Shout was questioned about his belief in future rewards and punishments he had a strange, superstitious story to tell: "If I tell the truth and do right in this life I will go to a good warm canyon in California after death. There will be plenty of fat elk, good grass, and groves in eternal green. The never-failing streams of cool water beneath the rays of a cloudless sun in one eternal summer. There I will live in



peace and dwell in the society of the good and the brave, and eat the fattest elk. But if I tell a lie, I will go to a barren, dreary, and frozen canyon, filled with eternal snows where I will drag out a miserable existence going naked and barefoot, without good bows and arrows, doomed to pursue lean game and poor elk over rugged and frozen canyons in the society of the wicked and the cowardly." His speech was deemed quite orthodox by the court, so his testimony was accepted. After two days of the trial the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty.

Enyos, an Indian boy from Iron County, had been indicted for the murder of Captain J. W. Gunnison. Judge Drummond attempted to have Enyos confess to manslaughter and waive the charge of wilful murder. This the Indian would not do, claiming he was guilty of murder. Judge Drummond then tried to induce Hosea to bring into court evidence that proved the Indian had confessed to being present at the massacre and assisting in the murder. This evidence, Judge Drummond insisted, was to be presented without allowing the Indian an opportunity of proving his innocence and refusing to permit interpreters in court so that he would not have a chance for his life. "The judge," says Hosea, "was determined to have him hung, guilty or innocent." Hosea blocked this criminal attempt to do injustice to the helpless Indian. When the Enyos case was called up the Indian pleaded not guilty. The court, under Drummond's instructions, "refused to allow the defense to prove that Enyos was not present at the massacre." This had an unfavorable effect on the jury, who brought in a verdict of not guilty. Later Hosea prepared an indictment against Now-oo-Quiel, another Indian, for the murder of Captain Gunnison. No record is given of this trial.

The trial of Samuel G. Baker, who earlier (November 19) had been indicted for the murder of Isaac Whitehouse, began November 26. On the fourth day of the trial the jury brought in a verdict of murder in the second degree. Later, December 3, he was sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary. On that same day Mrs. Baker, the wife of Samuel, gave birth to a son, whom she named Douglas Drummond Baker. Her expressed hope was that the child would yet

become a great man like Steven A. Douglas and Judge Drummond! This ended the 21-day session of the court. Hosea awaited in Fillmore the arrival of the members of the Legislative Assembly whose sessions were to begin one week later.

The Assembly met (December 10) in the unfinished Capitol building. The House met in the upper room, where its first order of business was organization. Hosea nominated Jedediah M. Grant to be Speaker; this motion was carried unanimously. This was Grant's last term as Speaker. Thomas Bullock was chosen Clerk; Alfred U. Billings, Sergeant-at-Arms; Jacob F. Hutchinson, Messenger; and Rev. Joel H. Johnson, Chaplain. A. W. Babbitt administered the oath to the Representatives, while Judge Drummond administered the oath to the Speaker. The following day a joint session was held, where the Governor's message was read. His principal recommendation was for the calling of a Constitutional Convention and a new bid for Statehood. A joint committee of the two houses was appointed to make plans for the convention. The men appointed were: George A. Smith, Daniel H. Wells, and Albert Carrington from the Council; W. W. Phelps, Edwin D. Woolley, Hosea Stout, Samuel W. Richards, J. C. Little, and William Snow from the House. A motion was made that 100 copies of the daily Journal be printed for the use of members and officers. A. W. Babbitt, Secretary of the Territory, who was only a guest at the session, objected to the printing of 100 copies and insisted that 20 copies would be sufficient. This interference from Babbitt brought a sharp reprimand from Governor Young, who censured Babbitt strongly for his blunder. The House then took a vote of censure against Babbitt for his insult, his privilege of attending the House sessions was also withdrawn.

December 12 the houses met separately. In the lower house the Speaker made the following committee assignments: Judiciary, Hosea Stout, Jesse C. Little, and Aaron Johnson; education, W. W. Phelps, Hosea Stout, and J. C. Wright. The following day the Speaker referred to the Governor's recommendations, and stressing Utah's admission into the Union as a free and independent state. He

expressed his confidence that the Douglas Democrats in Congress would vote for the bill giving Utah statehood. The bills acted on related to a grant of land to Brigham Young; a petition from 154 citizens of Iron County requesting the transfer of the County Seat from Parowan to Cedar City, this was referred to the Committee on Counties; a petition from Silas Richards, Assessor and Collector of Salt Lake County, praying for leniency in the collection of delinquent taxes of 1855, this was referred to the Committee on Revenue; and finally a resolution presented by Hosea, calling for an appropriation to pay the expenses of opening a road to the coal mines in Sanpete County, this bill was read and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Hosea was absent from the sessions two days (December 14, 15) working with a committee which drafted a bill to take the census in the Territory, another day with a committee which planned for the election of delegates to form a State Constitution. Six bills were acted on (December 17), one related to the division of water from Spanish Fork Creek, the petition of Farmington for a Charter, the removal of the county seat in Iron County, the Silas Richards petition on taxes, a second vote on the County Seat in Iron was taken, and finally in a joint session an act for holding a Constitutional Convention was passed. Sessions were held each day until December 31, not even taking a recess for Christmas. Leonard W. Hardy was appointed Census Agent for the Territory (December 21). In a joint session (December 31) an address on marriage and morals by P. P. Pratt was read and approved by the body. Several lesser bills were acted on before the Assembly adjourned for the year.

## 1856

"Hail the new year," exclaimed Hosea, "but oh, the dull times in Fillmore City. My long tarry here is sinking me, my memories of Sweet Home are vivid."

The Legislative Assembly created eight new Counties and named the judges for each. The list is an interesting one: Salt Lake County, Elias Smith; Weber, Jonathan

Browning; Davis, Joseph Holbrook; Tooele, Peter Maughn; Utah, Dominicus Carter; Juab, George W. Bradley; Sanpete, George Peacock; Millard, Thomas R. King; Iron, James Lewis; Green River, Isaac Bullock; Carson, Orson Hyde; Cache, Bryant Stringham; Malad, John R. Barnard; Box Elder, Jonathan C. Wright; Washington, John D. Lee; Beaver, Lorin Babbitt; and Cedar, Allen Weeks. The Territorial officials were also appointed: Territorial Treasurer, David McIntosh; Auditor, James W. Cummings; Second District Attorney, Almirin Crow; Territorial Marshal, Alexander McRae; Road Commissioner, Thomas D. Brown; Surveyor General, Jess W. Fox; Librarian, William C. Stains; Code Commissioner, William Snow; Attorney General, Albert Carrington; Recorder of Marks and Brands, William Clayton; Chancellor of the University of Deseret, Albert Carrington; members of the Board of Regents; Daniel H. Wells, Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, Hosea Stout, W. W. Phelps, Lorenzo Snow, Wilford Woodruff, Elias Smith, Samuel W. Richards, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, and William Willis; Treasurer of the Board of Regents, David Fullmer. The bill to change the county seat from Parowan to Cedar City was finally killed.

When the common citizen is charged with intent to kill it is news, but when a Federal Judge is arrested for the same charge it is front page news. The Grand Jury in Millard County indicted Judge W. W. Drummond and his negro Cato for assault on the body of Levi Abrams with intent to kill! Accordingly, the Judge and his servant were arrested. Hosea was asked to serve as counsel for Drummond. At the trial (January 7), Judge Drummond left his seat on the bench to present his "petition to the court for a writ of habeas corpus to retrieve his honor and that of his servant Cato, from imprisonment on indictment from the probate court as aforesaid on the ground that the probate court had no criminal jurisdiction; this was allowed." The following day Judge Kinney ruled that Drummond be granted the writ. This decision caused a full day of debate and caused considerable excitement in the community. The writ was a test of the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Probate Courts of Utah. This, Hosea concludes, "placed

the 'Supreme Judiciary' of fair Utah in rather a novel situation." The case took a turn for the worse when Judge Drummond, who was technically under arrest, tried to escape from Fillmore. He was intercepted by a posse who had orders to stop him. This action greatly embarrassed the other two members of the Supreme Court. A parley ensued where the two Judges remonstrated against the action of the posse. The posse, however, stood firm and refused to let Drummond go. The Judges then changed their tactics and held court at the residence of a Mr. King. At the new sitting, where Judge Drummond attempted to sit on the bench, the posse stepped in and refused him that privilege. This put an end to all judicial proceedings. Not knowing what to do, the court adjourned for that day. Later, when the case came before Judge Kinney, the question of Judge Drummond's imprisonment rested on the powers of the Probate Courts. Judge Kinney was known to be opposed to the possession of these powers by the Probate Courts, so prospects did not look bright. At the last minute the charges were withdrawn so, says Hosea, the "Probate still lives." This also ended the prosecution against Judge Drummond.

The court cases finished, the legislators returned to the work of the Assembly. A joint session unanimously agreed (January 12) to present a memorial to Congress for an appropriation of \$50,000 to complete the State House at Fillmore. The first bill to preserve wild life was introduced (January 15) by George A. Smith, its object was to prevent the destruction of beavers and otters between April and September. Unfortunately this bill was later defeated. A motion by Mr. Spencer that the Governor make nominations for the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society was carried. The following were nominated and approved: Edward Hunter, President; Jedidiah M. Grant, Charles Oliphant, William C. Stains, and Seth M. Blair, members. The closing days of the session saw the approval of memorials to Congress for an appropriation of \$200,000 for the construction of a road from Bridgers Pass to the California line; \$11,318 to pay the expenses of determining the boundary lines of Utah; a right-of-way for a Telegraph from

Missouri to California, and for the establishment of a daily mail service from Illinois to California.

The Legislative Assembly adjourned (January 18) when all members began their homeward journey. Hosea spent four days on the road to Salt Lake. Hosea's first official act, after arrival, was to prepare (January 24) the pardon papers of Samuel G. Baker, who had served less than two months of a ten-year sentence. Mr. Baker thanked Hosea on being released, and rejoiced "that his ten years had expired so soon."

A mass meeting was held (January 26) in the Tabernacle to discuss the Deseret Express and road building issues. Hosea reported that sentiment toward the new road was very favorable. The practice of law and assignments by the Board of Regents kept Hosea busy during the months following. February 4 the Regents appointed Wilford Woodruff, Samuel W. Richards, and George D. Watts to prepare a first reader using the Deseret Alphabet as a base. This reader when completed was to be sent to Liverpool for printing. In the election for delegates to the State Constitutional Convention, Salt Lake County chose 16 delegates; Hosea was not a candidate.

President Young called another group of Elders to various parts of the world to serve as missionaries. Allen Joseph Stout was called (February 24) to go to Las Vegas. For some unknown reason Allen never went on that mission. At a meeting of the University Regents, President Young exhibited the Seer Stone (February 25), the very instrument with which the Prophet Joseph had translated the plates of the Book of Mormon. "It is a silecious granite, dark in color with light colored stripes resembling petrified cottonwood bark about the size of an egg."

For services rendered while serving as temporary U. S. Attorney in Fillmore, Hosea was paid in goods valued at \$500. Money was nearly as scarce as food in those days. Hosea reports a serious scarcity of food in the valley. Bread and potatoes could not be obtained in any of the food stores. "Today (March 10), my family commenced on their allowance, which is two pounds of flour and one pound of meal.

This is a scant portion considering we have so many visitors." L. D. Wilson, the father of Alvira, died March 11.

Utah's Constitutional Convention began its sessions with a bang (March 17). The flag was hoisted on all public buildings. Cannons were fired to make the celebration complete. The Convention took ten days to write a constitution which the people hoped would give them greater independence. George A. Smith and John Taylor were appointed to take the document to Washington and assist Barnhisel in having Congress give Utah Statehood.

News was received (April 3) in Utah that the House of Representatives, after balloting 117 times, had failed to choose a Speaker. The war in Kansas had reached a new high. The Territory was being administered by two rival governments. These dispatches convinced Hosea that Utah was a peaceful Territory.

A history of a people cannot be complete unless it is descriptive of its vices as well as its virtues. Jacob Lance was arrested in Lehi and charged with rape. While being held in custody, his guards fell asleep. The victim of the crime, a Danish woman, had been waiting for this opportunity. Stealing into the guard house, where she found the defendant asleep, she took an axe and split his head wide open. The stroke of the axe did not wake the guards. When awakened they discovered they had no one to guard. This incident served as a warning to all would-be rapists.

A group of dignitaries left Salt Lake (April 21) for the eastern states. U. S. Marshal Haywood had official business in Washington. He left Hosea as a deputy to serve in his absence. Orson Pratt and Ezra T. Benson had business in the east for their Church. Judge Kinney was a member of this group. He had in his possession "reports" which, when delivered to the President of the United States, caused a war.

Lewis Wilson Stout, the ninth child of Hosea and the first for Alvira, arrived at the Stout home April 27, 1856. This child grew to manhood, married his cousin, and raised five worthy children, all of whom had large families.



The slavery controversy was brought to Utah, accompanied by all its ugly cousins. Dan, a negro slave, ran away from his master, whose name was Camp. The negro was caught and returned by force by his master. The anti-slavery elements in the city called his act kidnapping. The pro-slavery people fully justified his act. Hosea was asked to defend Camp. The Attorney General, Albert Carrington, represented the Territory. The case caused a lot of excitement in the community. Hosea "was surprised to see those latent feelings aroused which are making so much disturbance in the states." The court acquitted Camp but left the slavery issue in Utah unsolved.

The California mail brought (July 30) in news that made clear the situation in San Bernardino. Hosea had noted while in that city that there was a great deal of dissension among the Saints. Since leaving there the dissenters had increased in numbers and powers. They were then (in 1856) openly denouncing President C. C. Rich and all others who claimed allegiance to the Church. "There is no doubt that the Saints, if there are any left, will be finally outnumbered and have to leave San Bernardino. That city has been a refuge for every foul and unclean spirit, the disaffected hypocrites and apostates who have left Utah. These have all congregated there, no wonder there has been an outbreak." This state of affairs explains President Young's call to the Saints in San Bernardino a year later to pack up and come to Utah. He knew only the true Saints would respond, the black sheep would remain behind.

The annual election for the Legislative Assembly was held August 4. Those elected to the House of Representatives were: Jedediah M. Grant, W. W. Phelps, Hyrum B. Clawson, J. M. Cummings, A. P. Rockwood, Hosea Stout, J. C. Little, Samuel W. Richards, Alexander McRae, Daniel Spencer, and Joseph A. Young.

The summer of 1856 Hosea used all his spare time between law cases to build an addition to his home. The need was urgent, since his family was again on the increase. Emigrants began pouring into the valley on August 13, and continued till the end of November. By the end of August

it was obvious that Utah's prospects for admission as a state were very doubtful. Hosea notes that "excitement at Washington over who will be the next President is intense. Disunion is ripe. The Kansas question is still hot."

The first handcart company arrived (September 26) in the valley. It was led by E. Ellsworth and D. D. McArthur. The company was escorted into the city by a large group of citizens headed by President Young. They were met at the mouth of Emigration Canyon and treated to melons and fruits. The emigrants were high in spirits and appeared to be in excellent health. "They have drawn their carts from Iowa City, a distance of 1300 miles. They have been their own teams without incurring the expense of an outfit. This is a new and improved method of crossing the plains." The Bunker Company of handcarts arrived (October 2) in the valley. These groups were very fortunate in arriving when they did, the later groups were not.

A group of returning missionaries headed by G. D. Grant arrived in the valley with the intelligence that the Cheyenne Indians were on the warpath. They had attacked a wagon train, killing several of the teamsters, including A. W. Babbitt. Several apostate Mormons who were returning to the states were caught in the melee and exterminated.

One of the later handcart companies arrived (November 6) in Echo Canyon, where the snow was 12 inches deep. Climbing Big Mountain the snow was much deeper. On November 9 Smoot's handcart company with 100 additional wagons came into the valley. Meanwhile John Van Cott had been dispatched to Fort Bridger with a large train of wagons to bring in the rear groups of handcart companies. Van Cott had gone as far as he dared, believing the handcarts had perished or been killed by the Indians. So he decided to return to the Valley. When Brigham received this information, he called four men who he could absolutely trust and sent them east to bring in all the handcart companies. This group was headed by William H. Kimball and included Joseph Simmons, James Ferguson, and Hosea Stout. This group started November 10 and met Van Cott east of Big Mountain. When Kimball heard Van Cott's

story of self-justification, he gave Van Cott a severe reprimand, let him read Brigham's letter of instructions, and continued the journey eastward. Convinced that he had made a mistake, Van Cott turned back and joined Kimball's party.

Near the Weber the party met Joseph A. Young, who was aiding a few handcarters to climb the mountain. These people had been left in a precarious condition and were suffering from extreme exposure. The rescuers moved eastward and were joined at Bridger by other teams from Ogden. At Big Sandy still other teams from Centerville joined. Not till they arrived at the Sweetwater did they meet the handcart companies. These poor people poured into camp, some in wagons, on horses, or on foot, while others had to be carried on the backs of men. "This presented a sad sight to see. The people were thinly clad, worn out, hungry, and fatigued from trudging in the deep snows. A cold, piercing wind was cutting their faces. The wagons could accommodate half of those who were unable to walk. Many were sick and frosted." Tents were erected to provide shelter for the sick and the dying. The arrival of the 30 wagons proved a life-saver for practically the entire group. Very few would have reached the valley if left on their own resources.

November 19 the return journey began. The weakest of the handcarters were placed in the wagons for the journey. Twenty-five miles were covered the first day. The first night Hosea, with Ephraim Hanks, spent several hours administering to the sick. During those visits Hosea saw suffering and misery in its ugliest forms. Some of these victims were cheerful, some dull and stupid, others were frosted and sick, others were lazy and mean, "but all seemed to be elated with the idea of speedily arriving in the valley." The second day the travelers camped on the Big Sandy, and the third night at Fort Bridger after a long day in the deep snow. The horses and personnel were so completely exhausted with fatigue, hunger, and cold, that life nearly came to a standstill. On the fourth day a snowstorm and wind tried its best to destroy what little life was left in the travelers. It was the coldest day of the trip; the men of steel managed, how-

ever, to reach Quaker Asp Grove, seven miles from the Bear River. Another day of struggle found the party at the mouth of Echo Canyon. By this time the animals were so weak and the wagons so broken down that George D. Grant and William H. Kimball were rushed to Salt Lake on horses to seek help. The snow deepened as the company climbed Big Mountain. It was necessary to hitch six horses to each wagon to move the wagons. Two miles from the top they met a party headed by Joseph A. Young who were breaking a path in the snow. Without that aid the top could not have been reached, for the snow was four feet deep on the level. The pull up Little Mountain proved the last barrier, for the snow rapidly thinned out down Emigration Canyon. November 28 the advance company reached the city, where the handcarters were distributed among friends until rested. Even Hosea needed a couple of days for recuperation; the expedition had been no joy ride.

On the day Hosea returned to the practice of law (December 1) his friend, Jedediah M. Grant, died. At the funeral three days later special honors were paid him. As a Major General he was given war honors, and as a Master Mason and Saint who lived and died as a man of honor, he was buried as a great benefactor of mankind.

After the funeral Hosea and J. W. Cummings left for Fillmore to attend the Legislative Assembly, arriving December 6. Two days later the Assembly met and organized. Lorenzo Snow was elected President of the Council, and Hosea Stout as Speaker of the House. This was the sixth time Hosea had been a member of the House, and the first and last time he served as Speaker. The first bill to be introduced was one changing the Capitol of the Territory from Fillmore to Great Salt Lake City. The public realized that the Capitol was too far from the center of the population to serve the public interests well. The bill was easily passed by the joint session, then the Assembly adjourned till December 18 in the Social Hall in Salt Lake City. The lawmakers packed their bags and started north, arriving in the city December 11.

The Legislative Assembly re-convened in the Social Hall, where the organization of the two houses was com-

pleted. Heber C. Kimball replaced Lorenzo Snow as President of the Council, and Hosea continued as Speaker. James Ferguson was chosen Clerk of the House, and William H. Kimball as Sergeant-at-Arms. In a joint session Governor Young delivered his message. Later Orson Hyde was chosen to replace J. M. Grant, who had died. December 20 the House began receiving bills and referring them to the proper committees.

The famous Jack Mormon, Judge George P. Stiles, the man who criticized the Mormons for what he called immorality, was himself excommunicated for adultery (December 20). "Amen to the damnation of that wicked and corrupt judge." Hosea had very little respect for a person who posed as Dr. Jekyll in society and Mr. Hyde in private.

Hosea relates an incident which is hard to believe, for it is not sustained by Church History. It is recorded, however, since it is expressive of public opinion of that day. At a meeting of the Twelve and other prominent members of the Church (December 20), several members of the Twelve "advised all the First Presidents of Seventy except Joseph Young to resign to make room for men who would magnify their calling and not stand at the head of the 40 quorums of Seventies obstructing the work and Spirit of the Lord. All present responded to this suggestion with a heart-thrilling Amen. Some of the Presidents expressed a willingness to resign; if they do, I venture to predict there will be more spiritual influence among the Seventies. These Presidents are dry branches in the House of Israel."

On the Prophet's birthday the Legislative Assembly met as a joint body to hear one anothers' testimony. President Heber C. Kimball led with a testimony that inspired the group to heights never before reached. He was followed by nearly every member, who bore powerful testimonies which "exceeded anything I have ever seen in many a day."

A resolution was passed honoring the memory of Jedediah M. Grant: "We deeply regret the loss of this valuable man who so ably presided as Speaker of the House during its last three sessions. He was a man whose presence cheered and gladdened the hearts of all men, whose voice,

like the dew of Heaven on the tender plant, inspired the hope of immortality, his personality like the current of a mighty river sweeps down everything that dares to oppose the demands of justice or rob virtue of her crown. As a citizen he was kind, sociable and agreeable; as a public officer he was fearless and efficient; as a husband, he was affectionate and devoted; and as a father, he was tender and engaging. Resolved further, that we cherish with undying memory his invaluable services on all occasions, specially in times of adversity, most cordially do we extend our warmest sympathies to his interesting and afflicted family, bereft of a husband so kind and devoted, a father so tender and affectionate." The youngest in this fine family was a son only nine days old and destined to be President of the Church.

December 30 was a heavy legislative day filled with important decisions. The climax was reached when the houses met as a committee of the whole to study the problem of reformation. A resolution was passed unanimously that all members of the Assembly repent of their sins and be re-baptized for the remission of sins. In conformity with this decision the group met later at the Font and were all re-baptized. Hosea reports that he was baptized by Albert P. Rockwood. "There was a universal outpouring of the Spirit manifested." President Young and Kimball were the speakers. In the history of the world no parallel can be found for such action on the part of a legislative body.

The last act of the year (December 31) was a joint resolution to appoint a special committee to report on the Fortification Act. The members of that committee were Daniel H. Wells, Franklin D. Richards, Hyrum B. Clawson, J. W. Cummings, and J. E. Little.

1857

Hosea spent the first day in the year at Governor Young's office listening to his teachings. January 2 the joint session passed an act to encourage the raising of cotton. January 5 the joint group tabled a petition by Silas Richards for the incorporation of the town of Union.

Appointments for the new year were approved by the Assembly as follows: Chancellor of the University, Albert Carrington; Regents, Wilford Woodruff, Hosea Stout, Daniel H. Wells, Samuel W. Richards, William Willis, Orson Hyde, Franklin D. Richards, John T. Caine, Robert L. Campbell, Joseph A. Young, Leo Hawkins, and W. W. Phelps; Treasurer of the University, Daniel Spencer; Territorial Treasurer, Hyrum B. Clawson; Auditor of Public Accounts, J. W. Cummings; Territorial Road Commissioner, Thomas D. Brown; Territorial Marshal, Alexander McRae; Attorney General, Hosea Stout; Attorney, First District, James Leithead; Attorney, Second District, Jesse N. Smith; Surveyor General, Jesse W. Fox; Librarian, W. C. Stains; Recorder of Marks and Brands, William Clayton (later, H. B. Clawson); Warden of the Penitentiary, Daniel Carn. This was Hosea's second appointment as Attorney General, but his first since the Territory was organized.

Governor Young nominated (January 14) Hosea Stout, James W. Cummings, and Samuel W. Richards as Code Commissioners. Their duty was "to codify the laws of the United States which were applicable to Utah." Hosea was made chairman of this group; the survey was completed March 24. The Legislative Assembly adjourned January 16 after the President of the Council and Speaker of the House were both officially thanked for their services.

After the sessions were over and the codifying of the laws completed, Hosea plunged into his new duties as State Prosecutor. These duties consumed all his time till the next Assembly convened.

At the General Conference of the Church, Hosea was one of the speakers, his remarks as recorded by the Conference Journal (April 5):

"There are a great many things which have transpired since we came here which have caused me much reflection. For instance, I have seen Elders, men of influence and ability, men who in days that are past and gone have taught me that the time would come when we would be expelled from the society of the gentiles, and be driven into the wilderness. I have seen some of these same men apostatize, after fulfilling their own predictions. They have left the society of the



Saints and gone among the gentiles with the very fulfillment before their eyes. This was always a marvelous thing to me. I could never understand how men could apostatize with the light of truth before their eyes. . . .

"How singular it is that some of us should be so easily tempted and tried and finally leave the Church. Some persons who are convinced of the truth of the gospel who testify of it and who appear to enjoy it for a season, will, after a while, go into darkness, dwindle into unbelief, and ventually leave the Church, and declare positively that they did not know anything about the gospel.

"I always feel that it is my duty to look to myself, for I am in as much danger of apostatizing as any in the Church. If ever I do get led astray and depart from the principles of the gospel of salvation, it will be because I led myself off from the path, it is not my brethren who led me away, it was my own doings.

"I can testify today that I do know this to be the work of God, I know Joseph Smith to be a Prophet and Seer, and Brigham Young his lawful successor, and I also know that the Spirit and power of the most high rests upon the authority of this Church, that they are men of God, and I likewise know that they are doing His will continually. I know that we live in a day of revelation, then the purposes of the Lord are plainly manifest, and we have an opportunity of doing a part in this work. These things I do know and understand for myself, whether I ever disgrace the cause of God or depart from the way of life, this day I do know that this is the work of God. I feel so thankful that we are here in these peaceful vales. I do not know of anything better that we could ask for. We enjoy privileges far in advance of our times."

Brigham Young's campaign for moral reforms in Utah served as an excellent weeder in the population. The daughter of T. S. Williams, a notorious apostate, decided to elope. Williams, who was waiting for such an opportunity, capitalized on the incident by charging Heber C. Kimball of kidnapping the girl. His conduct became so obstreperous that he was arrested for disturbing the peace. When taken into custody he was raving like a madman. It was

necessary to place him under a strong guard. The shortage of reliable guards was so great that it was necessary to use the Attorney General of the Territory to watch Williams. Hosea stood guard most of the night (April 14) so an escape was impossible. The next day the Saints were glad to see him escape from the Territory. He took with him Judge Stiles, General Burr, P. K. Dotson, and Mathew Gount, all wicked apostates. The people of Utah "breathed a sigh of relief after their departure." The fire of reformation "is burning many out who flee from the Territory, afraid of their lives. This is scriptural: 'The wicked flee when no man pursue,' as with Mormon apostates. He always believes his life in danger and flees."

The re-organization of the Nauvoo Legion went into effect (April 20) with a new set of officers in charge: George D. Grant, Major General; William H. Kimball, Brigadier of the Horse; Franklin D. Richards, Brigadier of the Infantry; and Hosea Stout, Judge Advocate.

Activities of the Endowment House showed a marked increase. Even Hosea spent a number of days at the institution. He reported on April 21 a record number of persons (85) received their endowments. This was the largest number since the building was completed two years earlier. A large group of Missionaries (74) left the Temple Block (April 23) for foreign missions. They used 35 handcarts to cross the plains. The First Presidency headed a group of 150 persons leaving (April 24) for Idaho, where they spent 32 days on an inspection tour. Hosea reports that Salt Lake City was a dead city with all the authorities, gentiles, apostates and missionaries gone. "This leaves me nothing to do but hard work."

George A. Smith and John M. Bernhinsel returned (May 29) from Washington, where they had gone to present Utah's petition for statehood. They reported that sentiment was so hostile, both in and out of Congress, toward the Mormons, that they did not present the petition for statehood. Later (June 24), a meeting was held in the Tabernacle; there the Saints were entertained by speakers who read excerpts from eastern newspapers describing public opinion toward the Saints. "It appears," writes Hosea,

"that there is now the most bitter, revengeful, and mobocratic feelings against us ever manifested. The newspaper writers are louder (June 23) against us than ever. Accounts in the papers say that Elder Parley P. Pratt has been assassinated near Van Buren, Arkansas, by Hector H. McLean. The truth is not known." The truth soon reached Utah that he was murdered May 13. The charges against the Saints were so hostile in the eastern press that Hosea took the pen in defense. He wrote the "Missouri Republican," repudiating its slanderous charges of rebellion in Utah. He chided the paper for echoing the vile reports of Judge Drummond whose wicked lies were exciting a war spirit against the Saints.

Hosea and his family jointed (July 22) a large company of celebrants up Big Cottonwood Canyon. It was the tenth anniversary of the arrival of the pioneers into the valley. The canyon road was jammed with people and vehicles, all struggling to reach the top of the canyon where a major celebration was in preparation for the Twenty-fourth. Hosea reports 2587 persons, 464 wagons, 1028 horses, and 332 oxen were enroute to the lake for the big event of the decade. "The head of the canyon is a picturesque paradise dressed in scenery indescribable. The canyon is well set with heavy forests of timber from the base to the summit."

On the critical day a few rounds from the cannon set everyone in motion. The people enjoyed themselves as suited them best, all seemed happy. At noon the fun and celebrating came to an abrupt end. The people received the shock of their lives. Four men came riding into the camp on horses which were completely exhausted. Two of the men, A. O. Smoot and Jude Stoddard, had made the trip from the States in 20 days. They reported the U. S. Army was marching on Utah to put down the Mormon rebellion. Sentiment in the east had reached a new high against the Saints in Utah. All realized that Drummond was the arch-consiprator. This intelligence threw the celebrating party into a state of wild excitement. The celebration was over. In sadness the celebrants turned their faces toward home. Buchanan had made his blunder; he had declared war on the Saints.

## BUCHANAN'S BLUNDER

The Saints were not in open rebellion against the Government of the United States, nor had they destroyed the official records of the Courts. Drummond had reported to the President that the rebellion existed and that the records were destroyed, so Buchanan believed it, many members of Congress believed it, so Satan won his victory by making the world believe a lie. The army was ordered out to Utah to put down a rebellion that never existed. It was quite natural for the Saints to prepare for a defensive war against a war lord whose egotism had destroyed him.

The weeks following this intelligence found the Church authorities holding many a council meeting, where plans for the defense of Utah were made. The elections were held as usual. On August 3 the following were elected to the Council: Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, Albert Carrington, Franklin D. Richards, and Wilford Woodruff. John M. Bernhisel was re-elected as Delegate to Congress. Those elected to the House were: W. W. Phelps, Jesse C. Little, Samuel W. Richards, Daniel Spencer, Orson Hyde, Joseph A. Young, Alexander McRae, Hyrum B. Clawson, John Taylor, Hosea Stout, J. W. Cummings, and A. P. Rockwood.

The first move in the defense of the people was made August 13, when over 50 horsemen were sent east under the command of Robert T. Burton and J. W. Cummings to protect incoming emigrants and watch the movements of the army. Scouts from Kansas reported all emigrants enroute doing well in their travels. Colonists from Carson Valley and San Bernardino who had been advised to join the main body of the Church began arriving in the valley August 17. Joseph Peck arrived (August 25) from the east and reported the army had lost a large herd of cattle and that morale in the army was low since desertions among the soldiers were frequent. This indicates that some of the soldiers had a conscience even if the President of the United States did not.

Hosea pauses long enough during these hectic preparations for war to announce the arrival of Brigham Hosea Stout (September 5) who was doomed to live the life of a bachelor. On that same day John Murdock "arrived from the states and reported that General Harney with 1000 men had been ordered to Utah 'to keep still the nerves of that turbulent Territory.'"

Strange things usually happen in times of war. The people of Utah were surprised by the appearance of the old apostate, Thomas B. Marsh. In 1838, when Hosea was but a new convert and was seeking for a stronger testimony of the gospel, Thomas was first in line to succeed Joseph, the Prophet. He was President of the Twelve, the highest position in the Church under the Prophet. A man in his position should have possessed the strongest testimony of the Gospel's truth of any in the Church. He should have been prepared to resist the most severe persecutions ever engineered by Satan. In 1838 this man weakened in the face of persecution, turned traitor against the cause he represented. In that fatal year he left Far West with Orson Hyde and went to Richmond, Missouri, and there made official charges against the Church. These charges were sent to the Governor, who used the "evidence" therein to issue his famous extermination order against the Saints. The final result of his crime was the Saints were driven out of the State. This same man, after 19 years, comes to Utah, begs forgiveness, and asks to be readmitted into the Church! In the Tabernacle (September 10) Thomas B. Marsh was introduced by President Young. He "made a short speech presenting a sad spectacle of the effects of apostasy. His head was entirely silvered and he was palsied on one side which crippled him. His intellect presents a still more deplorable spectacle of apostate degeneracy which seems to be in the last stages of dotage." After his speech the people were quick to forget his treachery and voted to receive him back into the Church. During this same church service President Young announced that all diplomatic relations between Utah and the United States were broken, that the Almighty God recognized the people in Utah as a free and independent people, and that no officer appointed by the

Washington government shall henceforth rule over the people of Utah. The day ended by more cheerful notes from the new Tabernacle organ which had just been installed. This was its first performance since its construction.

Bryant Stringham and N. V. Jones arrived (September 8) in the valley, bringing Captain Stewart Van Vliet, the advance agent of the army. He had come to make preparations for the army's stay in Utah. An interview between Van Vliet and the Mormon leaders was held (September 9) in the Social Hall. After the usual introductions, the soldier "presented a letter to Governor Young from General Harney requesting his assistance in providing for the troops enroute to Utah. He addressed Governor Young as President of the Mormons—neither recognizing Governor Young nor any of the Saints as citizens of the United States. His instructions disclosed the fact that a station within 30 miles of the city is to be established to enforce the civil law, and that Utah is to be erected into a military to be called the Department of Utah. He met a cold reception, although treated very friendly."

Hosea does not give Brigham's reply, so we are indebted to Neff for Brigham's historical answer: "We do not want to fight the United States, but if they drive us to it we shall do the best we can; and I will tell you, as the Lord lives, we shall come off conquerors, for we trust in Him. . . . We are the supporters of the Constitution of the United States, and we love that constitution and respect the laws of the United States, but it is by the corrupt administration of those laws that we are made to suffer. . . . Most of the Government officers who have been sent here have taken no interest in us, but, on the contrary, have tried many times to destroy us." \*

Van Vliet was forced to return empty-handed, convinced that the Mormons would offer determined resistance, and if that failed the army would find nothing in the Valley but a barren waste. Van Vliet's report to his superiors is interesting: "Governor Young informed me that he had no objection to the troops themselves entering the Territory; but if they were allowed to do so it would be opening the

\* Neff, *History of Utah*, p. 469.

door for the entrance of the rabble from the frontiers, who would, as in former times, persecute and annoy them; and to prevent this they, the Mormons, had determined to oppose all interference of the government in the affairs of their Territory.”<sup>2</sup>

This report supplies the very crux of the Mormon opposition to the army's entrance into the Valley. The Territory would be filled with anti-Mormon elements who in time would drive the Saints out as they had in Missouri and Illinois.

The first company of handcarters to reach Utah in 1857 arrived September 11, under the leadership of Israel Evans. It was the same day that the Mountain Meadow Massacre took place, but no one in Salt Lake knew about it at the time. They did learn, however, that the Army had left Fort Laramie and was marching toward Utah. A Council of War was held in the Historian's office. It was decided to declare martial law.

A small group of soldiers, the advance guard which had been stationed at Deer Creek, arrived (September 19) in the city. Jesse Earl, who accompanied them, reported that these soldiers were ‘anticipating fine times this winter walking over our people, hanging our rulers, and prostituting our women.’

N. V. Jones, who had gone east with Van Vliet (September 14), returned to the valley six days later and reported the troops' reception to Van Vliet's mission to Salt Lake. The first regiment, on learning that the Mormons would resist, were very pleased and anticipated a lot of “fun now that the Mormons had spunk enough to fight.” When Captain Van Vliet met the second regiment he tried to dissuade the Generals from coming into Utah, but without effect. The soldiers in that regiment evidenced greater sagacity and calmness for they neither wanted to continue nor fight. Jones reported the troops had reached Little Sandy. Mormon groups were leaving Salt Lake every day, and so, Hosea reports, “we may expect a merry time soon.

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<sup>2</sup>. Ibid, page 469



I expect an attack soon, perhaps by stampeding their animals."

These developments led General Daniel H. Wells to issue instructions to his staff to prepare for action. As Judge Advocate, Hosea made prompt preparations to leave, observing that "most likely before we return it will be determined whether legalized government mob can force themselves on us against our will and contrary to law. We go in the name and strength of Israel's God."

General Wells and his staff packed their provisions in nine wagons and started (September 27) eastward to supervise the stopping of the army from coming into Utah, by force if necessary. In Killian's Canyon, where they stopped the first night, General Wells addressed his officers on the "necessity of taking good fare of the animals, placing our trust in Israel's God for strength and deliverance from our enemies." Elders John Taylor and George A. Smith also spoke, giving valuable advice. On the second day the staff received word that the Utah Scout's first attempt to stampede the army animals had failed. The army had taken the precaution to hobble or stake out their animals. General Wells received (September 29) word that the army was within ten miles of Fort Bridger which was due to be burned. This development changed the General's plans. He took three light wagons and twelve of his staff and continued on. At Cache Cave Station, Wells dispatched Hosea and five others back to Echo with orders to stop all volunteers from the Valley and put the canyon in a state of defense. General Wells continued east to meet the enemy.

Hosea and his aides retreated 20 miles to the narrowest point in Echo Canyon and camped. They were joined by 50 men from Ogden under Major Joseph Taylor. The site chosen as the strongest in defense was called Echo Station, four miles from the mouth of the canyon. Here the men began building fortifications to meet the enemy. The sides of the canyon were perpendicular so that on top of the ledges strong batteries were erected. Before the end of the month 475 men were stationed behind these batteries.

Joseph A. Young returned (October 1) from the front and reported that the army was 10 miles from Ham's Fork,

and that General Wells was then at Bridger. The families who had built Fort Supply had burned their town and had left for Salt Lake. More men from the valley strengthened the garrison at Echo. "Our forces here are preparing the hills and crags to receive the enemy in due form." The strategic position of Echo Station was examined by Joseph Taylor and Hosea (October 3), who explored the mountains on the west to determine whether there was any possibility of the fort being flanked. They concluded it would be very difficult for soldiers on foot. The mouth of Echo Canyon was examined as a possible point for defense, but was found to be too weak.

Meanwhile Captain Lott Smith and his rough riders had been active harrassing the enemy. He and his patriots had captured six wagons, burned 52 more, and run off a large herd of cattle. One of his riders was a 19-year-old lad named Isaiah Cox.

General Wells returned to the Echo Station with the intelligence that General Johnston had taken command of the invading army and had given the orders to move westward. He was well pleased with the fortifications constructed at Echo. He gave Preston Thomas and Hosea another assignment of equal importance in preparing defenses. The roads and canyons from the Weber to Big Mountain were to be placed in a state of defense. They were asked to make a topographical survey to determine the best plan for fortifying this area, the report to be made in writing. The reconnaissance was begun October 7 at Spring Creek. Many excellent sites for effective defenses were located. Several side canyons were spotted which could be used to make surprise attacks on the enemy. The survey completed, a written report was turned in to General Wells, October 11. Reports from the front (October 9) told of more successes by Lott Smith and his riders. They had burned 26 more wagons, captured 700 head of cattle, and had annoyed the army in a thousand ways.

An army deserter came into the Mormon camp and reported that "many of the soldiers would desert if treated well by the Mormons—they were dissatisfied with their offi-

cers who, he claimed, were divided in their councils on what to do." Governor Young dispatched (October 12) two men to the army camp with copies of the *Deseret News* containing vital speeches and letters on the controversy. These men overheard the officers talking, after reading the statement of Young. "That's damned cool," thundered one of the men.

Accompanied by Col. Jones and others, Hosea examined the defenses at Echo and found them formidable (October 13). "We are now ready to receive our enemies. Besides the natural advantages, the batteries which are masked, are capable of holding 1000 men off by pouring a deadly fire into the enemy's ranks from positions completely secreted and unseen. Besides these hidden batteries high in the rocky crags, there are three impassable ditches dug across the canyon, seven feet deep and 12 feet wide. These will completely obstruct passage while our enemies are exposed to a deadly crossfire from the mountain sides. There is no possibility of our forces being outflanked. A deserter, who crossed these lines yesterday, laughed with joy for the privilege of passing here in peace for, said he, 'we could destroy a whole army in a short time.'"

Col. Burton and his 50 scouts returned from a 6-weeks reconnaissance with the news that the army was moving up Ham's Fork. The army's baggage train was sandwiched between two infantry units and flanked by guards on all sides. The army general could no longer trust the Mormon scouts. It was learned that Col. Alexander was willing to negotiate, on condition that the President's orders could be carried out. The Mormons were determined that those orders would not be carried out.

The camp was moved (October 17) one mile below the mouth of Echo Canyon and was henceforth known as Weber Station. The fortifications, however, remained at Echo Station. The camp was strengthened by the arrival of 300 more men from the valley. W. A. Hickman came into camp with a captured prisoner by the name of Yates, whose case became famous 14 years later. \*

\* See page 250.

Maj. Joseph W. Taylor and Wm. Stowell entered the army camp, believing they were Mormons, and were taken (October 19) prisoner.

Learning that the army had broken camp at Ham's Fork and was on the move, General Wells issued an order for all officers to be ready to march on a moment's notice. Later (October 20), General Kimball brought in the news that the army on reaching Subletts' had begun a counter-march. This action rather baffled the Mormons, but eased the tension so that General Wells and his staff found it possible to return to Salt Lake for a short time. Enroute he appointed Hosea and Col. Jones to take 300 men to East Canyon and put that area in a state of defense. While occupied on that assignment, Hosea was released by General Wells to return home for the opening of the Legislative Assembly. Hosea arrived in the city October 26; he did not return to Echo again that year. This is important, since later he was accused of aiding in the killing of Yates at Echo Station on November 15, 1857. (See page 250.)

In Salt Lake, Hosea continued to keep in close touch with developments at the front. November 7 information reached the city that General Johnston and the new Governor of Utah had joined the army and were moving toward Bridger, which was then burned. He was dissatisfied with Col. Alexander's inability to protect the army against the annoying attacks by the Mormon scouts. He boastfully declared that if he had been present such antics could not have taken place. The very hour that this vaunting egoist was crowing a group of Mormon scouts under Willard Snow relieved the army of its last herd of cattle. The General "now had the ill-fortune to see his boasted courage vanish for he, like Alexander, had to quietly submit."

General Johnston was forced to suffer another embarrassment when Maj. Joseph W. Taylor, who was under a 25-man guard, escaped and returned to the Mormon camp. Reaction to Johnston's movement toward Fort Bridger was the dispatch of 1500 more Mormon troops to Echo Canyon, where the snow was then four feet deep.

Hosea's new assignment was guarding prisoners brought down from the front. These prisoners were usually disposed of by taking them to California and turning them loose. Israel Irvins arrived (November 20) in the Valley with the news that the army had reached Fort Bridger.

A proclamation from the new Governor of the Territory reached Salt Lake November 29, and was read to the people in the Tabernacle. It denounced Brigham Young and all the people of Utah as traitors. It was written from Green River, November 21, and addressed:

“To the People of Utah Territory:

On the 11th of July, 1857, the President appointed me to preside over the executive department of the government of this Territory. I will proceed at this point to make arrangements for the temporary organization of the Territorial Government. Many treasonable acts of violence having been recently committed by lawless individuals supposed to have been commanded by the late executive. Such persons are in a state of rebellion. Proceedings will be instituted against them in a court organized by Chief Justice Eckles, whose court will try such offenders. It is my duty to enforce unconditional obedience to the Constitution, the organic law of this Territory, and all laws of Congress applicable to you. To enable me to effect this object, I will, in the event of resistance, rely first upon a posse comitata of well disposed inhabitants of this Territory, and will resort to a military posse in case of necessity. I trust this necessity will not occur. I come among you with no prejudices or enmities, and by the exercise of a just and firm administration I hope to command your confidence. Freedom of conscience, and the use of your own peculiar mode of serving God are sacred rights, the exercise of which is guaranteed by the Constitution; it is not the province of the government to interfere. In virtue of my authority as commander-in-chief of the militia of this Territory, I hereby command all armed bodies of individuals, by whom

soever organized, to disband and return to their respective homes. The penalty of disobedience to this command will subject the offenders to the punishment due traitors.

A. CUMMING  
Governor of Utah Territory.

It is evident that this would-be tyrant had never read the Declaration of Independence and cared less for its principles. If the Colonies had one reason for severing their connections with England, the people of Utah had ten reasons for dissolving the political bonds which connected them with the United States. A reading of the proclamation to the people of Utah proves that Cumming did not believe that "all men are created equal," that the people of Utah were entitled to life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness, but instead were "in a state of rebellion." Cumming did not realize that the people of Utah were merely fighting for the rights expressed by Jefferson, that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these rights, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government." The people of Utah were broad-minded enough, however, to see through the difficulties. They were not fighting the government of the United States, they were fighting cheap politicians whose acts were in violation of the principles of both the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

The people of Utah reacted swiftly to the proclamation by supporting Governor Young unanimously. The Legislative Assembly met December 14 in the Social Hall and organized. The Council elected Heber C. Kimball, President, while the House chose John Taylor as Speaker. The following day a joint session listened to Governor Young's message, then chose a joint committee to draft resolutions expressive of the Assembly's feelings and approval of the Governor's policy toward the government. Besides Hosea, this committee consisted of Daniel H. Wells, chairman; Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, and J. W. Cummings. Six days later the resolution was presented to the joint body and accepted unanimously. Before adjourning for the year each

member of the Assembly was requested to state the number of men each could furnish, equip, and mount for the defense of Utah. Hosea signed for one, others were able to sign for six. The Legislative Assembly then adjourned until January 4.

## 1858

The new year found the people "quiet and peacable, all seems contented. The ballrooms and theatres were running high. The spirit of peace and happiness prevailing in the Territory is, itself, a miracle."

The Assembly met (January 4) in a joint session, where a motion was passed to have the Governor place before the Assembly all correspondence with the army. Later (January 6), the memorial to the President and Congress was read and adopted. John Taylor's letter to Captain Marcy was approved and ordered printed. Eastern newspapers were received in the valley and read carefully. They gave full accounts of Captain Van Vliets' report, but strangely enough there were no editorial reprimands in any of the papers. The equilibrium of the editors had been entirely destroyed.

Hosea received three appointments (January 15) when he was selected one of the Commissioners, was re-appointed a Regent of the University, and made Attorney General for a second term.

A mass meeting was held (January 16) in the Tabernacle to memorialize the Government and approve Governor Young's conduct toward the Army. The memorial stated "in the plainest and most determined language that we not only approved Governor Young's course, but that we will not submit to their hellish outrages and tyrannical oppression any longer. The Tabernacle was crowded and every vote unanimous."

If the people of Utah were going to fight a defensive war, where was the money coming from to finance it? This suggested the need for a bank. A mass meeting was held (January 19) in the Tabernacle to organize such an institu-



tion. There it was decided to have a 'Church Bank Charter' and to be known as the "Bank of Deseret." President Brigham Young was chosen President of the bank; Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, and William H. Hooper, directors. "The capital stock of the bank was to be founded on property and bills to be redeemable in livestock. The people passed the act of incorporation with great enthusiasm and unanimity. The Territorial Tax being abolished, all public works were to be done by labor tithing under the supervision of the Bishops. A standing army was to be raised, numbering over 1000 men, from levies taken from wards and counties. This army was to be sustained from the wards and counties from whom they came."

The final session of the Legislative Assembly was held (January 22) as a joint group. Official thanks were extended to Governor Young, William H. Hooper, Heber C. Kimball, and John Taylor, for their services as officers of the legislature. "Thus ends," Hosea mournfully observes, "the Seventh Session of Utah's Legislature—what will be the Eighth, and under what circumstances?" Hosea was only expressing the sentiment which the people in those critical times were thinking. A war to the finish looked inevitable in January, 1858.

News was received (February 3) from the east which stated that the President of the United States, in his annual address to Congress (December 4), had recommended four additional regiments to be sent against Utah, who, he said, was "in a state of rebellion." Papers received in Utah indicated he was strongly denounced for his action by some and sustained by others. Feeling in the east, according to these papers, was obviously bitter toward the Saints.

Hosea notes in his diary (February 25) the arrival in Utah of Col. Thomas L. Kane, whose mission Hosea knew nothing about at that time. During the following days secret conversations were held between Kane and the Mormon high command. Gradually Hosea was made cognizant of their implications. When Col. Kane left (March 8) on a mission to the Army headquarters, the meaning of Kane's presence in Utah was well known. He was the one man in

the United States whom the Mormons and Buchanan both trusted. If a peace settlement was to be made between the Saints and the Army, Kane was the only man who could do it.

Meanwhile reports filtered in that Indians were plotting to join up with the Army to take possession of Echo Station. The result was the dispatch of 50 men to Echo to thwart the move (March 8).

While preparing for the great day of destruction, Hosea took time out to attend (March 12) a City Council meeting. It was in this meeting that Utah's Attorney General was appointed City Watermaster. Imagine Utah's Attorney General in 1950 pushing doorbells from house to house notifying householders when they must take the water and when they cannot! Ninety-two years makes great changes in a community's thinking.

A crucial Council meeting was held (March 18) in the Historian's office. Members of the First Presidency, Twelve, and officers of the Legion attended. The issues involved a plan for meeting the enemy. Every conceivable alternative was studied by the group. Should the Saints make an attack on the army while it was at a safe distance or wait until the army was near the city? Was it a good policy to fight at all, except in self-defense. Which would be the wiser course—to stand up and fight to the bitter end or leave the city in ashes and flee into the mountains?

Hosea observes that the policy hitherto pursued by Governor Young in obstructing the oppressive purposes of President Buchanan had rebounded to the honor of the Saints at the expense of the President and his cabinet. "Mormonism," Hosea claims, "is on the ascendancy and now what is the policy to maintain that ascendancy? If we whip out and use up the few troops at Bridger will not the excitement and sympathy now rising in our favor in the states be turned against us? If we only annoy and impede their progress while we burn up and flee, the folly and meanness of the President will be more apparent and he and his measures unpopular."

The Church leaders did not come to a decision, so the burning issue was presented to the people at a special con-

ference held (March 21) in the Tabernacle. There the people were asked to decide whether to flee or not to flee to the mountains. The sentiment of the people favored a mass movement southward. It was decided to send 500 families south. These people were to be selected from those who had never been driven from their homes before. From that class the poorest and most helpless were to be chosen first. Those going first were to be chosen by the Bishops in the wards. This plan of immigration was a pattern to be followed by all towns in the Territory. The destination was the area between Provo and Nephi. From the Tabernacle the issue of immigration was continued in ward meetings where detailed plans were completed. In Hosea's ward the problem of immigration was a burning issue. Those who were supposed to go first hesitated, so Hosea stepped forward and volunteered to go in the first company. His act broke the ice of uncertainty, thus making it easier for others to follow. Three days later (March 21) Hosea attended a Bishop's meeting, where the moving problem was again tops. These practical statesmen decided to ask all residents living in Utah and Juab Counties to send wagons to Salt Lake City to aid families without transportation to move south. Response to this request was marvelous. Within twenty-four hours teams began arriving from the south. Like Nauvoo in February 1846, Salt Lake City was soon a city on wheels. Forty or more families left daily. The road to Provo was soon a mass of covered wagons. Israel was on the march again. Precautions were taken to protect the rear guard by dispatching 500 men to Echo (March 31), where, in case of emergency, they could be used. Presidents Young and Kimball and Wells started (April 1) for Provo to organize and direct the large refugee camps which were blooming there.

News reached the valley (April 2) that the Kansas situation had seriously deteriorated. As in Utah, injustice was the primary cause. A spark of hope was seen for Utah when the Senate refused Buchanan's request for an increase in the number of regiments to be sent against the Mormons. "The tide of feelings," Hosea concludes, "is turning in our favor."

Utah's representative, Dr. Bernhisel, had proposed to Buchanan that he send commissioners to Utah to negotiate a settlement with the Mormons. If satisfactory terms could be made, the Saints would be willing to sell their properties and move overseas to a distant land. Meanwhile the road to Provo was increasingly used by the covered wagons.

The day Hosea had planned (April 5) to leave for the south, his wife suffered an attack of inflammatory rheumatism which prevented her from walking. Her ailment continued for several days, requiring constant attention by Hosea and his sister Anna. Her sickness and the thoughts of moving when "the garden is growing well, the peaches, currants, and strawberries are in bloom; the pending exodus, which seems to be our doom. I am in a fair way to have the most excellent garden I ever had. There is no alternative but to leave our houses and fine gardens just as they begin to produce for our enjoyment. Such is the fate, as always, with those in every age who would dare to worship the true God. My wife continues helpless, while Anna and I are worn out."

The general plan for moving was publicly announced by President Young at the General Conference (April 6). To maintain compactness, he recommended that those in Salt Lake County move into Utah County, those in Ogden move into Salt Lake County, and those north of Ogden occupy Ogden. When more moving is necessary each group to move one county south. Every family to keep its arms and be ready to defend themselves.

A new phase in the war broke when Col. Kane and the new Governor, Alfred Cuming, arrived (April 12) in the city, escorted by many of the city's dignitaries. A historic meeting took place when the new Governor was introduced to James W. Cummings, who showed him the very records and seal of the U. S. District Court which Judge Drummond had alleged were destroyed by the Mormons. It was this accusation that "inspired" Buchanan to send an army to Utah to put down the "rebellion. Governor Cuming was shocked when he saw with his own eyes the very records intact which Drummond had sworn were destroyed. In an interview later with James C. Little, James Furguson, and

Hosea Stout, he 'declared his intention to make a true report to the government and do all he could to prevent a collision between us and the army. He expressed dissatisfaction with General Johnston's policies at Fort Bridger. He was astonished to find the court records safe and wondered how such false reports could have been spread."

Later (April 25) at a public meeting, the new Governor was introduced to the people by President Young. His speech, as reported by Hosea, was not received well. He "declared that it was his purpose to do all the good he could and be our friend. He attempted to justify the government in sending troops to enforce officers on us against our will. He requested to know the feelings of the people." In response Gilbert Clements served as spokesman for the Saints by stating that the "objections which the people had against his being our Governor while backed up by an armed force, 'Send home your troops,' cried Clements, 'and then come among us as a friend.' Clements' speech was enthusiastically cheered. There were many personal sarcastic expressions thrown at the Governor. Twice when he rose to speak he was hissed down. Still he took it in good part. He said to me after the meeting, 'we had quite a discussion today. All will soon be understood and work out well.' He seemed to be encouraged by the proceedings as if he had been well received."

At the meeting Cumming read a proclamation in which he gave notice that if there were any in Utah who were held in restraint to make his situation known to him and he would immediately affect his deliverance. This document Hosea labeled a "cross between a pronunciamiento and a Bull. It signified that he was invested with extraordinary powers to give everyone both political and religious rights, and implied the power to even forgive sins. He also appealed to the women for their support."

Good news was received (May 5) from Washington which inspired the Saints to take courage. Congress had refused to appropriate more money for Buchanan's tyrannical crusade against the Utahns. Improvement in the attitude of Governor Cumming was noticeable. Before leaving (May 12) for Fort Bridger, he pledged his determination to

effect a reconciliation with the army. Col. Kane accompanied the Governor eastward, his mission having succeeded. He continued homeward after a critical interview with General Johnston at Bridger.

Meanwhile Hosea and family had joined the parade southward. On May 5 John Webster took a load of Hosea's freight to Salt Creek (Nephi), taking with him Anna, Elizabeth, and Eli. May 23 he sent another wagon load of furniture. "Times are dull," Hosea writes, "we have hardly a neighbor left. The people are moving out rapidly—soon Great Salt Lake City will be deserted."

May 24 Hosea and wife left for the south. At Provo Hosea and James Furguson investigated some land sharks who were selling land for ten cents an acre in an imaginary kingdom down in Central America. These swindlers were promising the Saints genuine titles to their lands and a free and independent government. Hosea reports their success was very limited. These public enemies should be given some credit for their unethical efforts. They knew what the Saints needed.

Hosea and family continued (May 25) on to Springville. Arrangements were made for his family to be sent on to Nephi, while Hosea returned to Salt Lake for another load of his personal property. Arriving in Salt Creek (June 6) he found his family tucked away in a tiny, but dirty house, too small to hold half his goods.

News was received in Salt Creek (Nephi) that Governor Cumming and two peace commissioners had arrived in Salt Lake City with a proclamation from President Buchanan promising, as Hosea received it, "a free pardon to all Mormons who will repent and do better." Hosea, like thousands of others, was baffled to know what to repent of. The face-saving proclamation served as a turning point, however, for it reversed a thousand covered wagons from a southern direction to a northern direction. Hosea rushed to Provo, where he saw the two peace commissioners who had been sent by the President "to make peace on any terms which would save him (Buchanan) from disgrace and his party from ruin." (The elections two years later proved his party was already ruined.)

The two commissioners made speeches to the people in Provo 'congratulating us for winning the peace. Rowell's speech was a miserable effort to eulogize both Utah and Uncle Sam—very shallow and disliked."

Hosea returned to Salt Creek, where he spent the next 16 days packing his wagons for the journey north. At Provo he learned that President Young and other Church leaders had packed their wagons and left for the city. Traveling on he found himself and family a part of a procession miles in length. Israel was again on the march northward.

At the point of the mountain (July 6) Hosea and fellow travelers met the advance guard of General Johnston's army enroute to Cedar Valley. The latter were retreating into disgrace while the Saints were victoriously returning to their homes. At home Hosea found another war being fought in his garden. The weeds had won a conspicuous battle against the vegetables. They had even outgrown the peach trees. Accepting the challenge, Hosea spent several days extricating his plants from their enemies.

While thus occupied Hosea was introduced to Utah's new Chief Justice, D. R. Eckles, "a very talkative man with an exalted opinion of himself, very superficial, no friend of Utah nor her people."

Hosea found it necessary to make another trip to Salt Creek to bring the balance of his family and goods to the city. President Young loaned him (gratis) two wagons, each with four mules, to haul his goods back to the city. Completing the trip (July 23) much work was necessary to place the home in order.

Hosea had consumed an enormous amount of energy to make the four trips to Salt Creek, hauling down, then back, with his heavy loads of goods to satisfy the stupidity of a misguided politician who thought he was serving the public interest by crushing a rebellion that never existed. When Hosea's expenditure of energy is multiplied by ten thousand or more, the enormity of Buchanan's blunder becomes apparent. Next to Martin Van Buren, Buchanan is rated by the Mormons as the weakest President who ever occupied the White House.



## GENTILE JUSTICE

A period of readjustment was experienced by the people of Utah after the return from Salt Creek. This adjustment was a difficult process. Crops had been neglected, emotions were difficult to control. Tensions had been so great that the weaker Saints could take the strain no longer. Large groups of these malcontents left the Territory, blaming the Church authorities for their sufferings. Persecution was again being used as a means of separating the sheep from the goats.

Resistance to the Church was evidenced by groups of gentiles and apostates who organized the first opposition party in the Territory. These political renegades had lost faith in the wisdom of the Church leaders to make nominations. They considered themselves better qualified to choose the candidates. Accordingly they nominated several who, when they learned of the move, refused to run. A few of the men so "honored" might be mentioned: Orson Hyde, John Taylor, Edward Hunter, and Daniel Spencer.

Meanwhile the regular party's nominating convention was held, where some of the same men were placed on the winning ticket. On August 2 this group won by a majority of 1050 to 37. The anti-Mormon party had made its rebut in Utah politics.

A custody case which had been hanging fire for months was finally settled in Judge Eckles' court. Henrietta, a child eight years of age, who had been abducted in England in 1854 and brought to Utah, was given back to her father, who had her sent back to England. The case required the attention of the British Ambassador, Lord Napier, and our Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, to bring the case before the civil courts. Hosea served as one of the attorneys in the case.

The presence of the army in Utah was, as President Young had anticipated, a moral menace and a danger to the

lives of the First Presidency. This was the conclusion drawn by the Church authorities, so it was decided to place a body-guard over President Young. Hosea took his turn standing guard at Brigham's home.

Judges Eckles and Sinclair found themselves in hot water in Utah politics. They were not satisfied in exercising purely judicial functions. They had attempted to dictate to the Legislative Assembly. These gentlemen left Salt Lake August 23 for Fillmore to make arrangements for holding the District Courts there. Hosea observes that they have seen "proper in the abundance of their wisdom to decide that the seat of government be returned to Fillmore, notwithstanding the act of the Legislature in removing the capitol to Salt Lake City. These judges have set aside our law without cause. They left here for Camp Floyd, where they are to have an army escort to protect them from danger while passing through our settlements." Evidently these judges really believed the Mormons were wild and savage.

After thirteen months of nerve-killing strain, the people in Salt Lake City decided to relax by holding a celebration at the mouth of Big Cottonwood Canyon (August 26). Church and state dignitaries attended. At the peak of the festivities a very distinguished visitor joined the company. Her name was a Mrs. Grizzly Bear and her two cubs. Her demeanor was not friendly, so a general battle ensued. The outcome was one dead cub and a badly wounded grizzly which retreated swiftly. The party then continued merrily on with its dancing and games. After two days of celebration, the people returned to their homes greatly refreshed from their tensions.

Like his predecessor, Judge Eckles reached the end of his patience (September 15) and decided he could not reform the people of Utah, so he left for home. His companions comprised the usual herd of apostates and anti-Mormon reluctants who found it easier to swim downstream. "He leaves," says Hosea, "without an attempt to put the laws in force as he boasted he would."

Hosea was appointed a member of the City Council and took his seat October 8. This necessitated his resignation as a policeman, which he later did.

Utah's obstinate Governor, Alfred Cumming, believed strongly that the Capitol of Utah should be returned to Fillmore. A group of Mormon leaders headed by Daniel H. Wells, including S. M. Blair, James Fergusson and Hosea Stout, called on the Governor (October 9) to discuss the issue with him. Judging by the results the Governor failed to convince his visitors that the Capitol should be returned to Fillmore.

A new crop of Federal officers began arriving in Utah November 4. On that day Judge John Cradlebough arrived, followed by the new U. S. Attorney, Alexander Wilson. It was necessary for Hosea to aid Wilson to prepare the cases which were soon to come before the court. Wilson had wild dreams of returning Utah to sanity. While instructing the Grand Jury (November 22), he reviewed the subject of treason with lengthy quotations from the Constitution. The whole drift seems to indicate that he wishes the Grand Jury to totally disregard the general pardon of the President and throw the whole transaction of last winter open to judicial investigation, thus re-opening the breach so lately healed between Utah and the United States." The judge then tried to strike a blow at polygamy by quoting from Kent and Blackstone, neither of whom settled the problem of its existence. He asked the Grand Jury to find out whether polygamy existed in Utah. He wanted the public to know the truth so that Congress could do something about it. He admitted, however, that the Court had no power over it.

Anna, the sister of Hosea, who had been separated from Benjamin Jones (February 7, 1850), married November 24 to Artemus Millett and left soon after for her new home in Sanpete County.

Hosea reports the existence of a real conflict in the courts involving jurisdiction. The issue involved a problem of authority. Who in Utah possesses the powers to prosecute and execute the laws of the Territory? Did that power belong to the U. S. Attorney and Marshal, or to the Attorney General of Utah and the same Marshal? Both attorneys concerned argued their cases before the Supreme Court. Finally, on December 22, the court handed down its decis-

ion, giving this authority to the U. S. Attorney. This decision killed the office of Attorney General in Utah. Hosea gracefully returned to the private practice of law.

The Legislative Assembly met (December 13) and organized. John Taylor was chosen Speaker of the House. Hosea was placed on the Committees of the Judiciary and of Education. Bills granting individuals the right to graze their cattle on the public lands, petitions to build bridges, and acts to incorporate cities were introduced and passed in rapid success. The eventful year 1958 soon passed into history.

### 1859

One of the great triumphs of Mormonism was the discovery that the Book of Mormon was indeed an authentic history of ancient North and South America. In a great speech delivered in the Tabernacle (January 2), Orson Pratt announced to the world that there was more evidence proving the authenticity of the Book of Mormon than there was for the Bible! The irony of this truth lay in the fact that non-Mormon scientists were making these discoveries!

The Legislative Assembly convened (January 3) and began the study of a plan to provide a revenue for maintenance of a University. Legislation for the creation of the office of Surveyor General was introduced and finally passed. The purpose of this act was to provide lands which could be granted to schools and universities. A report from the State Librarian showed there were 3385 volumes in the library. An act to provide for the selection and location of a site for a university was passed January 5. The county seat in Washington County was changed from Harmony to the town of Washington (January 6). It was Hosea who introduced (January 8) a bill prohibiting the manufacture of spirituous liquors, a bill which was later passed by both houses (January 19). This action placed Utah at the very front in the fight against the social evil.

The attempt of General D. H. Burr to have James Furguson, James A. Little and Hosea Stout disbarred from law practice finally came to a head (January 11) when the

jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." "This ends," observes Hosea, "a miserable and vindictive force concocted by Burr under the sanction of the court." It had been the purpose of Burr to rid the court of as many Mormon defenders as possible. This was another triumph for Mormonism.

A joint session of the Legislative Assembly chose (January 13) the following officers: Chancellor of the University, Orson Pratt; Regents, Daniel H. Wells, Claudius V. Spencer, Orson Hyde, Isaac Bowman, Joseph A. Young, Orson Pratt, Jr., Robert L. Campbell, George J. Taylor, Gilbert Clements, Samuel W. Richards, William Eddington, and Isaac Grow; Territorial Treasurer, David O. Calder; Auditor, William Clayton; Marshal, John Kay; Attorney General, Seth M. Blair; Surveyor General, Jesse W. Fox; Librarian, William C. Stains; Recorder of Marks and Brands, William Clayton; Warden, Daniel Carn; and Sealer of Weights and Measures, Nathan Davis. Sixteen judges were also appointed for the counties.

A new memorial to Congress for the admission of the State of Deseret was passed (January 14) by both houses. This movement was doomed from the beginning, but it is expressive of the people's determination to rid the Territory of its carpet-baggers. An act to incorporate the University of Deseret was completed January 19. It provided that land equal to two townships be set aside in every section for its financial support. In a joint session a committee was chosen to revise and codify the laws of the Territory. Hosea, George A. Smith, and Seth M. Blair were the men appointed for the task. The session ended (January 22) after five memorials were carried in both houses. The first asked Congress for a daily mail, a second for the construction of a railroad to Utah, a third to defray the expenses of the two previous sessions of the Utah Legislative Assembly, fourth, the construction of a telegraph across the continent, and finally, if statehood was impossible, then the election of governors, judges, and all territorial officers by the people of Utah. A territorial form of government is not a true democracy. A new declaration of independence was needed to dissolve the political conflict in the Territory. The infec-

tion which caused this conflict was the presence of the carpet-baggers.

Mr. Hartlett, the Secretary of the Territory, like his predecessor Mr. Harris, opposed the payment of salaries due the members of the Assembly. These members met unofficially as a joint body (January 22) to learn what Hartlett intended to do. Hartlett finally decided to pay for the days the members met. The members claimed they were entitled to the full forty days. Considerable bitterness was expressed toward the Secretary for his uncompromising attitude. A special committee consisting of C. C. Rich, T. W. Richards, and Hosea, called on Hartlett to settle the issue, but no agreements could be reached. Hartlett personified, beautifully, a carpet-bagger.

Hosea mention (February 6) the famous gold rushes to Pikes Peak and the Gila gold mines in Arizona. The transient elements in Salt Lake City packed their bags, loaded their families into broken-down wagons, and joined the march in search of gold and spiritual destruction. Those who followed Brigham's advice remained in the valley where salvation and poverty were closely allied.

Hosea attended a three-day (March 6-8) District Court session in Provo. Judge John Cradlebough presided. Besides two marshals the judge called in a company of Infantry from Camp Floyd. Why these soldiers were needed he did not explain. His sinister motives were later exposed when he charged the jury.

His prejudice toward the people of Utah and the Church authorities was so strong that he forgot he was charging a jury. "He denounced the Probate Courts in the bitterest terms and impugned the motives of the legislature, accusing them of legislating to prevent the District Courts from punishing criminals, charging the Church for the breakdown of justice in Utah, and finally declaring that he was now ready to do anything he could against both the Church and the people. The whole charge was a tirade of crimination."

At a later session of the court the Judge announced his reason for bringing the troops to Provo. They were "here,

not to interfere with the citizens, but to keep the peace and take charge of the prisoners," thus saving the county that expense. The Sheriff then informed the Judge that he was fully prepared to perform his duties without any help from the army. This, however, had no effect on the Judge, so blinded was he by prejudice. These troops later (March 9) proved a serious annoyance in the community, causing riots and disturbing the peace in general. The judge made no effort to have them removed.

Seth M. Blair, Utah's Attorney General, asked the court (March 10) to decide whether he should prosecute for the Territory or not. The court, after considerable ambiguity, decided that the U. S. District Attorney was the proper officer to prosecute cases arising under the laws of the Territory. They conceded, however, that the Legislative assembly had the power to create the office, but could not define its functions. For the same reason the court refused to recognize John Kay's commission as Territorial Marshal.

The conflict in Provo became so bitter that even Governor Cumming became alarmed and sent Jesse C. Little to Provo as his personal plenipotentiary extraordinary to negotiate a settlement between the warring factions. He accomplished little, since neither side would move an inch. The mayor and the City Council protested strongly to the court to have the troops removed. This caused another riot between the soldiers and the citizens. This disturbance was promptly ended by the City Marshal. Governor Cumming did all he could to prevent a conflict, even sending to Washington for instructions. While marking time the court amused itself by naturalizing foreigners. A test of worthiness was determined by the applicant's part in the Echo Canyon war. Those who had taken an active part in the conflict were denied citizenship!

The "gentile court," so named by Hosea, employed new tactics to arrest the men it thought guilty of murdering Potter and Parrish. Subpoenas were issued to A. L. McDonald and Hamilton H. Carnes to appear in court. When these men answered the summons they were arrested! There were others in the courtroom who, when they witnessed this



trickery, left the building and vanished into thin air. They could not be found, since no one "knew them." A posse was organized to arrest W. J. Earl, A. Durfee, and Joseph Bartholomew in Springville, but these men could not be found since no one "knew them." Sentiment reached a climax when Mayor Bullock was arrested. Public indignation at this piece of trickery and double-dealing on the part of the courts—the foundation of justice—was sensational to say the least. The city police force was doubled as a precautionary measure.

Hosea's appraisal of the court is illuminating. "The court, with all its dignity, has dwindled down to a committing magistrate's court. While the Grand Jury was in session and inquiring into the murder, it now proceeded to examine into the cause of the illegal arrests made by the court. The prisoners were carefully examined, the evidence proved the men were innocent, so they were acquitted." (March 19)

The court ordered 80 more soldiers from Camp Floyd. "Their only business in the first place," says Hosea, "was to guard the prisoners, now they are bringing more without even a pretext. The whole affair shows a complete military espionage, their reasons for bringing them here, a farce." (March 20)

The following day the Judge called the Grand Jury before him to give them another scolding. He delivered an abusive lecture "in which he accused them and the whole community of conspiring to commit not only crime, but to evade the law. He again took occasion to revert to the Church and Territorial authorities in the most abusive manner." After his appetite for abuse had been satisfied, the jury informed him that they were ready to report their findings. Believing the report would be unfavorable, he arbitrarily discharged the jury. The same day John Daly, another victim of gentle justice who, after being subpoenaed, appeared in court, where he was arrested and placed in the guard tent.

The court, on March 22, called one of the Indians who had been indicted before the bar and there lectured to him.

Using the Indian as a dummy, the people of Utah were again given another scolding. He informed the Indian that he was guilty of crimes and deserved to be punished, but since the community was guilty of worse crimes—refusing to punish each other—he decided to discharge the Indian.

Alfred Nethercott was called on to testify, but his testimony did not please Judge Williams so he ordered him arrested. "This makes four persons," writes Hosea, "who have been arrested for the murder of Parrish and Potter against whom there is not a shadow of evidence."

News was received in Provo (March 29) that Governor Cumming had protested against the armed neutrality of the court. In his proclamation he declared that the troops were sent to Provo without his knowledge or consent and contrary to his instructions. It was plain that the Governor was attempting to win the friendship of the people. His words did not change the situation in Provo, however, for Major Paul's six companies of infantry were posted on the hill north of Provo, ready to bombard the town if the gentile judge saw fit. A company of 56 soldiers and several deputy marshals started for Springville to arrest Bishop Johnson. They surrounded his home, but found that he had previously made his escape.

One of the prisoners, Joseph Bartholomew, who was believed to be implicated in the murder of Potter, turned state's evidence and related a story which incriminated Bishop Johnson of Springville and others. His story proved to be a garbled batch of contradictions, concocted by the gentile court to incriminate others, an objective they "openly avowed." Durfee also turned state's evidence, believing he could save himself by implicating others.

The court finally ended (April 4). John Daly was released. Major Paul left for Camp Floyd with the other prisoners. "This ended," Hosea says, "this singular court; its object and aim needs no comment." Hosea returned to Salt Lake and resigned as City Councilman.

Hosea attended the first two days of the April General Conference. April 8 he had an interview with Governor

Cumming. The Governor indicated he believed a warrant would be issued for Brigham Young and that he thought it would be wise for him to give himself up. He promised that if Brigham should surrender voluntarily he would be fully protected. Hosea had ugly memories of similar promises so he rejected the Governor's suggestion in its entirety.

The committee appointed by the Assembly to prepare a code of laws began (May 12) its labors in the Historian's office. George A. Smith was the chairman, Seth M. Blair and Hosea were the other members. This assignment required all their spare time for several months.

Hosea returned to Provo May 20 to attend an arbitration case before the High Council. The case involved a financial dispute between one Ross and a Mr. Wheeler, Hosea's client. Wheeler was awarded \$100 damages from Ross.

Hosea was awakened one evening (June 13) by James C. Little, who requested his presence at Governor Cumming's office. On arrival he was informed "that a detachment of troops under Captain Bradford H. Anderson, consisting of 174 horses and many wagons, had camped in John Van Cott's wheat field." Van Cott had protested the trespass and was arrested for spite. It was at this point that James C. Little entered the case. He immediately sent Secretary Hartlett to the Captain with a request to have Van Cott released, but Captain Anderson refused. Little now wanted Hosea to apply for a writ of habeas corpus for the release of Van Cott. Hosea immediately petitioned Judge Sinclair, who had to be awakened from his sleep to sign the writ. Marshal Dotson served the writ on Anderson, who finally released Van Cott. The release of Van Cott did not save his wheat field from destruction, however. The damage to the wheat was immense. Why "all this wonted trespass," Hosea asks, "upon property by the army I cannot tell." Hosea's efforts to effect the release had consumed the entire night.

A nomination meeting was held (June 25) at the Historian's office, where candidates for the Legislative Assem-

bly and other positions were made. E. S. Eldredge was selected as Delegate to Congress.

The arrival of Hosea's eleventh child (July 8) was celebrated in the Stout home when Alfred Lozene joined the family. Alfred, who never married, died at the age of 37.

The general election was held (August 1) where 1440 votes were cast in the county. The following candidates were chosen: Delegate to Congress, William H. Hooper; Council, Daniel H. Wells, Albert Carrington, Orson Pratt, Franklin D. Richards, and James Furguson; Representatives, John Taylor, Hosea Stout, David Candland, Hiram B. Clawson, Joseph A. Young, Edwin D. Woolley, Seth M. Blair, A. P. Rockwood, and John Moody. The following day the Supreme Court handed down a decision holding that the Probate Courts had no criminal jurisdiction.

Hosea had practiced law since arriving in the valley in 1848. August 20 he and Seth M. Blair and James Furguson began an adventure in journalism. They "conceived the idea of publishing a newspaper which would be independent in religion and politics." Arrangements were made to have the Deseret News print the paper. The first edition made its appearance August 27. Whitney says the paper "was an ably constructed journal." Hosea, however, soon (September 14) severed his connection with the paper to assume the duties of the U. S. Attorney. Alexander Wilson had resigned and returned to his home in the east. Henceforth, until a new attorney should be appointed by the President and arrive in the city, Hosea carried on the functions of that office.

During the General Conference (October 6-9), Hosea notes with satisfaction the absence of trouble in the valley. "Those who have been making the most noise are gone and going, we shall soon be left to ourselves." Hosea notes a complete reorganization of the Salt Lake High Council. The new members were: William Eddington, James A. Little, Samuel W. Richards, Edward Partridge, Joseph W. Young, Gilbert Clements, John T. Caine, Joseph Smith, George Nebeker, Franklin Woolley, Claudius V. Spencer,

and Orson Pratt, Jr. "A majority of these are young men who have been raised in the Church."

Hosea spent a busy week (November 8-14) in Utah County, attending court in Provo, Springville, and American Fork. Enroute he visited his brother Allen at Pleasant Grove.

The Legislative Assembly met (December 12) and organized at the Social Hall. The code of laws which he and the other two members had been working on since May 12 was submitted to the Assembly. The code consisted of 64 chapters and 556 sections. The committee was greatly disappointed when the Assembly disapproved the code.

Hosea's history of Utah and its people must now come to an end. The diary which we have been following is rapidly thinning out. A few personal notes are recorded in 1860 and 1861. For a period of five years there is a complete blank. A few personal observations were made in 1869, then the rest of his 19 years is completely blank. Beginning with the year 1860 this biography will be a personal one and will depend on other sources of information for its material.

## 1860

The Legislative Assembly passed but one act before adjourning on January 20. The city of Great Salt Lake was re-incorporated. The August election for the House of Representatives chose John Taylor, Edwin D. Woolley, Hiram B. Clawson, Albert P. Rockwood, John V. Long, Washington F. Anderson, William P. Nebeker, John M. Moody, and Hosea Stout. A special session began November 12. The regular session began December 10. Daniel H. Wells was elected President of the Council, and John Taylor as Speaker of the House. Hosea was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and was a member of the Committee on Revenue. Hosea continued to act as U. S. Attorney in the absence of a regular appointee from Washington.

1861

The regular session of the Legislative Assembly ended its sessions January 18.

The arrival of Hosea's twelfth child on February 18 was considered important enough to be noted in his dairy. Allen Edward was destined to remain single the first 51 years of his life.

Soon after this event Hosea suffered an attack of erysipelas, causing him to be delirious for over four weeks. After this illness he was left blind and his hearing impaired for another two weeks.

Hosea records the existence (June 30) of a comet in the region of the Great Bear. Its tail was millions of miles in length and was most beautiful.

The last entry in Hosea's dairy (July 10) notes the first telegraph pole erected in the city which connected the East with the Pacific States.

The August election chose Hosea again for the House of Representatives.

## THE DIXIE MISSION

At the October General Conference in 1861, President Young announced from the pulpit that he wanted 308 families to move to Washington County and there establish a cotton kingdom so that Utah would be self-sustaining in the manufacture of clothing. The names of these heads of families were then read. It contained the names of Hosea and his brother Allen, who was then living in Pleasant Grove.

A few other names might be mentioned, since they or their descendents made Dixie history: Orin N. Woodbury, George W. Sevy, Miles Romney, Orson Pratt, William G. Perkins, John M. Moody, Isaiah Cox, Israel Ivins, Horace S. Eldredge, Chapman Duncan, Edward Bunker, Norman I. Bliss, and James G. Bleak. George A. Smith was placed in charge of the Dixie pioneers.

All of these men realized that the call was not compulsory, but coming as it did from the living Prophet, they did not dare to disobey. Their enthusiastic compliance is indicative of President Young's powerful influence in the Territory. In an interview with Brigham, Hosea was informed that it was his wish that he (Hosea) return to Salt Lake in the winter and represent Dixie in the Legislative Assembly.

Hosea spent a month preparing for the move to the south. He gave a farewell talk in the Tabernacle, October 27, then started with his family for Pleasant Grove, where his brother Allen and family joined him. The company arrived at Cottonwood Creek, now Harrisburg, November 28. After providing a place for his family to live, he returned to Salt Lake to take his place in the House of Representatives which met December 9. In this session he held the same committee assignments as in the previous session.



1862 - 1863

The Legislative Assembly adjourned January 17, three days before the Constitutional Convention began. Hosea had been appointed a delegate to this convention by a county nomination meeting, held at Cedar City January 6, 1862. Silas S. Smith and Horace S. Eldredge were the other delegates from Iron County. (*Deseret News*, January 20, 1862). This is the first Constitutional Convention Hosea had even been a member of. Hosea was appointed a member of the Committee on Credentials, George A. Smith and Seth M. Blair were the other members. Within two days a Constitution for the State of Deseret was adopted and March 3 selected for the election of all officers of the new state government. On that day Hosea was elected to the new House of Representatives from Washington County.

April 14 the newly-elected General Assembly met in the Council House, Albert P. Rockwood being chosen Speaker of the House. Hosea was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Judiciary. He reported out a bill creating Judicial Circuits in the state and defining the duties of the Circuit Judges.

After the session had closed Hosea returned to Harrisburg, where he learned that during his absence the City Council of St. George had appointed (April 7) him City Attorney. This position kept him on the run between Harrisburg and St. George.

The Church needed an experienced man in the Branch Presidency (so on June 1 he was chosen second counsellor to James Lewis, Moses Harris being selected as the other counsellor. Harrisburg had a membership of 41 at that time. Other prominent men in the community were: William Robb, Allen Joseph Stout, John Brimhall, Priddy Meeks, Samuel Hamilton, Elijah K. Fuller, and Allen Taylor.

It was during this memorable year, when it appeared that the Southern States would win the Civil War, that Abraham Lincoln appointed Hosea Stout Attorney General of Utah.

There is only one explanation for this appointment. William Hooper was Utah's Delegate to Congress. For many years William had been a close associate of Hosea in the practice of law and in the Legislature. Hooper was probably responsible for Hosea's appointment. In gratitude for this honor Hosea named his next son William Hooper Stout (born October 10, 1863).

In an election held July 26 Hosea was chosen one of the Representatives from Washington County to serve in the Legislative Assembly. For some unknown reason he did not take his seat when the session began in December. Jacob Gates was selected to take his place. Hosea never served in the Legislative Assembly again. His duties as United States District Attorney required all his time and energies. During the year 1863 he was appointed District Attorney in Washington County. This made it necessary to move his family from Harrisburg to St. George.

#### 1864 - 1865

May 8, 1864, Hosea was selected to serve as a member of the St. George High Council. Before the year ended he became its President.

#### 1866

The end of the Civil War found Hosea very busy in his Church and legal affairs. A daughter was born June 5, who was destined to become the mother of one of the finest families in Utah. Her name, Alvira, the mother of eleven children, she became a symbol of faith and steadfastness among her associates.

While in Salt Lake City Hosea was asked by the City Council (August 3) to serve as City Attorney. He accepted the position, so he returned to St. George, severed all ties in that community, and moved his family to Salt Lake.

September 21 he began performing his duties as City Attorney, a position he held for three years. November 4 the Stake Presidency at St. George honorably released him as High Councilman. This ended his five-year mission in Dixie.

## ENDING OF A GREAT CAREER

The year 1867 found Hosea beginning his fifty-eighth year and still in the prime of life. His usefulness to society was only half completed. His failure to keep a daily diary of his accomplishments does not imply a negative existence. On the contrary, the years following his return from Dixie found him very active, both in state and Church affairs. Eighty-three years after his return from Dixie, when these lines are written, Hosea's position in Utah's history is only beginning to be appreciated. The author's principal objective in writing this biography is to give future generations an honest appraisal of his life and work.

Early in 1867 Hosea was invited to join the Council of Elders, a missionary organization whose objectives were social and religious.

The activities of this group, together with his responsibilities as City Attorney, kept Hosea very busy during these post-war years. June 9, 1868, a new son was added to the family, but only remained a month. Previously, however, an addition was made to the family, when Hosea married (May 23, 1868) Sarah Cox Jones, the widow of David Hadlock Jones. David had been killed by the Indians, May 29, 1865, at Fairview.

Sarah was the daughter of Jehu and Sarah Pyle Cox, born February 28, 1832, at Greencastle, Indiana. His marriage to Sarah was in violation of the Merrill Act, which prohibited polygamy in the Territories. Hosea knew the law was dead in Utah and un-enforceable, so he knowingly took a second wife. Plural marriages were openly performed during the sixties; the general authorities took a lead in the practice and publicly taught the doctrine from the pulpit. Hosea's oldest daughter, Elizabeth, had previously become the plural wife of Isaiah Cox (October 28, 1865). Sarah was a sister of Isaiah.

During these post-war years the principle of a co-operative union was rapidly gaining strength in Utah.

Hosea was a strong advocate of the principle. A meeting was held October 15, 1868, where leaders of the movement gave birth to the doctrine. Those present were William H. Hooper, Horace S. Eldredge, James C. Little and Hosea. The end product of this meeting was the organization of Zions Co-operative and Mercantile Institution, which was effected on March 1, 1869.

A few paragraphs in Hosea's Journal record the progress made in the construction of the railroad. "The railroads are approaching us with unprecedented rapidity. Cars are now one-third down Echo Canyon (January 1, 1869). Everything morally, socially, politically, and religiously in this Territory seems unusually quiet and peaceable."

On March 8 Hosea notes the arrival of the "iron horse" at Ogden. Hosea attended the celebration at Promontory Point, May 10. "All the principal cities in the union are waiting for the tick which announces the completion. At noon the wires ticked, the road was finished, followed by the firing of cannon. We, in common with the rest of the nation, commenced celebrating."

Seven days later Hosea witnessed the removal of the first sod by President Young for the construction of the Central Railroad from Ogden to Salt Lake.

In 1869 Hosea had been a member of the Church for 31 years. He writes (February 8) that he was "making an honest effort to end my tobacco habit." This is an admission the revelation on the Word of Wisdom was really taken seriously. Unfortunately too many of his descendants do not take the revelation seriously.

The visit (July 17, 1869) of Alexander and David Smith, sons of the Prophet Joseph Smith, to Utah, was noted by Hosea in the last page of his diary. These apostate sons had come to Utah to preach the doctrine that Joseph Smith III was the lawful successor of the Prophet. These young men were introduced to Hosea, believing he might be a logical victim. They might as well have tried to teach the doctrine to Brigham! Hosea had personally heard the Prophet tell the Twelve that in case of his death the Twelve would have to lead the Church.

September 8, 1869, the City Council of Salt Lake City reduced Hosea's salary from \$1600 to \$1200 a year. Accordingly, Hosea handed in his resignation as City Attorney. This ends Hosea's public career. He never again held public office. Henceforth Hosea was a private practicing attorney. He retired from this practice a few years before his death.

October 8, 1869, Hosea purchased a 13-acre farm at Holladay; this had a five-room house on it. Later, he purchased six more acres. This furnished employment for his two older sons. His oldest son, Hosea Jr., married (December 13) to Elizabeth Hammond and moved to Holladay.

Hosea's diary ends January 1, 1870, with these words: "I now commence my journal for the coming year in the last year's blanks." The rest is blank. Henceforth we must lean entirely on the Journal History of the Church and other histories of Utah for material to complete his biography.

Soon after being ordained a High Priest in 1870, Hosea was chosen an alternate member of the Salt Lake Stake High Council (May 7), later, October 8, 1870, he was sustained as a regular member of that body. He served in that capacity until May 7, 1887, when he was honorably released due to failing health. He served his Church as a High Councilman for 17 years, giving that body the benefit of his wisdom and experience gained by a life study and prayer.

The year 1870 found Hosea the father of sixteen children, ten of whom were then living. The last arrival was Edgar Walter, born August 2, 1870. The promise made to Hosea in 1844 by Patriarch John Smith that he would have a great posterity was being fulfilled, notwithstanding the loss of six children. Five years later he was called on to lose the only pair of twins given him by his Maker. Arthur and Ada arrived February 9, 1875. Arthur died the same day; Ada lived over six months, the end coming August 20, 1875.

The last child to arrive in the family was Charles Stephan, born September 30, 1876.

1871 was a crucial year in the career of Hosea Stout. Brigham Young was arrested October 2, 1871, and charged with "lascivious cohabitation with his polygamous wives."

The following day Daniel H. Wells was arrested on a similar charge. Several other arrests followed. The object of these arrests was to destroy the Mormon Church. Judge McKean was no friend of the Mormons.

Realizing the seriousness of these charges, Brigham asked Hosea and eight other lawyers to defend him. These men immediately moved to quash the indictment, but Judge McKean ruled against the motion, charging that the real issue was not the People vs. Brigham Young, but "Federal Authority vs. Polygamic Theocracy." McKean believed the Church and its doctrines were on trial, not the acts of Brigham Young. Brigham's lawyers then issued a statement proving that the Judge's language would tend to prejudice the position of Brigham and accordingly asked for an exception. The prosecuting attorneys objected, but McKean permitted the exception to remain. Brigham then (October 16) pleaded not guilty so the trial was set for a later date.

For very good reasons, Hosea was unable to continue in the defense of Brigham. Twelve days later, October 28, Hosea was arrested for the murder of Richard Yates at Echo, November 15, 1857. According to the confession of Bill Hickman, who admitted doing the actual killing, he accused Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, Joseph A. Young, and Hosea Stout of ordering him to kill Yates.

Hickman had told his story to the Grand Jury during the previous September, when an indictment was issued against the above named brethren. Hickman's story relates that after receiving "orders" he went to the tent where Yates lay asleep and brained him with an axe. Hosea is pictured as holding a lantern so that Hickman would know where to strike. Under the illustration in the book, "The Confessions of Bill Hickman," the following statement is printed: "Hickman killing Yates by order of Brigham Young—Hosea Stout holding the lantern."

This charge, if true, would certainly implicate Hosea. But, as we have seen (page 220), Hosea left Echo October

20, 1857, and arrived in Salt Lake City October 26, where he remained the balance of the winter. It is difficult to believe that Hosea could be at Echo and at Salt Lake City on November 14, 1857! Hosea's diary alone disproves Hickman's charges.

Hosea's certainty of innocence did not keep him from prison, however. He and Mayor Wells and William H. Kimball were taken to Camp Douglas and locked up in the military prison. During their 185 days confinement they were moved back and forth between the prison at Camp Douglas and City Hall. While in prison his son, Eli Harvey, was married (March 29, 1872) to Carrie Hansen.

Public sentiment was strongly on the side of the defendants. The Salt Lake Herald editorially remarked: "No intelligent man in Utah at all acquainted with the facts or the men, believe for a moment that either Daniel H. Wells or Hosea Stout had anything to do with the killing of Yates, nor do we believe that such a jury can be packed as will find either of them guilty."

In a news column the Herald recorded: "As an evidence of the vindictiveness which is displayed by the prosecuting officers of the Third District Court, the arrest of Mayor Wells and Stout, the court shows a narrow-minded bigotry in heaping indignities upon men whom these prosecuting officials consider guilty without trial. If petty malice could go further, we would like to know it."

Gentile injustice had been responsible for the imprisonment of Hosea and his companions; it was gentile justice which delivered them from their cells. April 16, 1872, the Supreme Court handed down its famous Englebrecht decision. In plain English it overruled the decision of Judge McKean by invalidating his methods of inpanelling jurors. All indictments against the accused Mormon leaders were annulled. Brigham Young was released from custody April 25, Hosea and five companions were released April 30, 1872. Thus ended the rule of another pack of carpet-baggers in Utah.

The marriage of Lewis Wilson Stout to his first cousin, Amanda, was celebrated on Hosea's sixty-ninth birthday,



September 18, 1870. Daughter Alvira was married to Charles Robert Clarkson on another birthday anniversary, September 18, 1884. Sarah, who had been his wife for seventeen years, died May 27, 1885. Alvira, the mother of eleven children, outlived her husband by twenty-one years, the end coming March 20, 1910.

At the age of seventy-eight and one-half years, Hosea ended his career on this earth, March 2, 1889. The *Deseret Weekly* for March 9, 1889, page 343, had this to say about Hosea:

"At 2:45 a. m. March 2, in Big Cottonwood Ward, Hosea Stout, Esq., who has figured prominently in the history of the Laeter-day Saints for the past half century, passed from life. He was a native of Kentucky, emigrating to Missouri where he embraced the gospel. From that time he shared in the vicissitudes through which the Church passed. He served in the Black Hawk War, taught school in Illinois, was intimately associated with the Prophet Joseph Smith prior to his death, and for some time acted as his body guard. He was an officer of the Nauvoo Legion and Chief of Police. . . . He was a man of sterling integrity and excellent ability. He has filled a long and useful life, and leaves a large family—a wife, ten sons and two daughters, to revere his memory and emulate his virtues."

## DESCENDANTS

A life of Hosea Stout is not complete without a full compilation of his descendants. Hosea was the father of nineteen children, 54 grandchildren, 159 great grandchildren, 271 great-great grandchildren, and 85 great-great-great grandchildren. This compilation includes all descendants born or died prior to December 31, 1949. This makes a grand total of 588.\* Eight of Hosea's children died in infancy. Two out of the eleven who reached maturity never married, two children had no issue, so all his descendants came through seven children. This last chapter in the biography will be divided into nineteen parts. Each of the children will be listed chronologically according to age.

Beginning with the grandchildren, this generation will be identified by the use of the Roman numerals, the next or third generation will be identified by the use of capital letters, the fourth generation will be indicated by using the Arabic numerals, and the fifth generation will be marked by the use of small letters.

This chapter required more research and effort than all the other chapters combined. This difficulty was due to a lack of co-operation on the part of a few. Two grandchildren of Hosea refused to supply the needed information. The case of Herman Earl Andelin was solved after a great deal of detective work. The grandchildren of Sarah Stout Chesnut, daughter of Hosea Stout, Jr., could not be fully compiled. The writer made two trips to Phoenix, Arizona, to obtain the necessary facts but failed to get all the data. This family was very hostile toward genealogy and bitter toward the church.

### LYDIA SARAH STOUT

1841 - 1842

Lydia Sarah was born December 20, 1841, at Nauvoo, died November 13, 1842.

\* See page 266.

## WILLIAM HOSEA STOUT

1843 - 1846

William Hosea was born April 16, 1843, in Nauvoo, died June 28, 1846, in Iowa.

## HYRUM STOUT

1844 - 1846

Hyrum was born July 4, 1844, in Nauvoo, died May 9, 1846, at Garden Grove, Iowa.

## LOUISA STOUT

1846 - 1847

Louisa was born April 22, 1846, at Hog Creek, Iowa, died August 5, 1847, at Winterquarters, Nebraska.

## ELIZABETH ANN STOUT COX

1848 - 1935

Elizabeth Ann was born March 19, 1848, at Winterquarters, Nebraska, died August 10, 1935, at Hinckley, Utah; married October 28, 1865, to Isaiah Cox (born May 18, 1839, in Missouri, died April 11, 1896, at St. George, Utah).

issue:

I—Hosea Isaiah, born June 11, 1866, at St. George; died March 21, 1868.

II—Mary Elizabeth, born December 7, 1867, at St. George; married June 14, 1885, to Milton Lafayette Lee (born February 4, 1843; died April 13, 1894), issue:

A—Wallace Cox, born May 22, 1888, at St. George; died March 20, 1892.

B—Rose Edith, born November 7, 1889, at St. George; married September 14, 1909, to John Taylor Jarvis (born September 27, 1888; died August 17, 1923); issue: 1—Roma, born October 25, 1910; married October 28, 1933, to Frederick Clift Foster; issue: a—Frederick Clift, born May 30, 1934, died same day; b—Sheril, born October 20, 1936. Roma and Frederick were divorced July 7, 1938.

Roma married second, January 1, 1939, to Newell Samuel Knight, no issue. (2)—*Lillian*, born June 9, 1913; married June 7, 1937, to Clifton Chatterley; issue: a—John Reed, born September 20, 1939; b—Phyllis, born February 24, 1941; c—Jane, born December 13, 1943. (3)—*Ione*, born December 29, 1916; married April 29, 1941, to Charles Reeder; issue: a—Richard, born April 9, 1942; b—John William, born August 2, 1944; c—Mary Lou, born September 16, 1946. (4)—*Lee Taylor*, born November 6, 1920; married May 18, 1946, to Jeanett Bowers; issue: a—Kenneth Taylor, born June 13, 1947. Rose Edith Lee Jarvis married second, February 4, 1925, to Joseph Sylvester Nielson (born June 2, 1889); issue: (5)—*Vesta Rose*, born March 13, 1926; married November 18, 1942, to Douglas Carl Findstrom; issue: a—Michael Nielson, born May 10, 1947; b—Gayleen, born May 30, 1949.

C—*Lafayette Cox*, born July 31, 1894, in St. George; married May 26, 1915, to Augusta Pearl Mortensen (born August 31, 1893, at Colonia Dublan, Mexico); issue: (1)—*Marion Lafayette*, born April 5, 1916, in Tokyo, Japan; married August 21, 1942, to Erica Elsie Gatzmeir (born March 31, 1922, in Barsinghausen, Germany, daughter of Heinrich and Wilhelmine Voss Gatzmeir); issue: a—Marlis, born March 30, 1946; b—Patricia, born October 1, 1949. (2)—*Milton Elwood*, born October 10, 1918, at Saeparo, Japan; married April 8, 1938, to Mildred Vera Worthington; issue: a—Linda, born February 24, 1939; b—Glenn Milton, born August 23, 1940; c—Walter Marion, born February 5, 1942, died February 7, 1942; d—Don Jay, born February 26, 1943; e—Virginia, born December 25, 1944. Milton was killed in action on Luzon, Philippine Islands, April 3, 1945, the only descendant of Hosea Stout to die in World War II. (3)—*Garth Lorraine*, born September 25, 1920, in Hinckley, Utah; married June 8, 1943, to Lila Florence Henry; issue: a—Harold Garth, born July 20, 1946; b—Wayne Henry, born September 5, 1948. 4—*Evan Winslow*, born August 11, 1922; married September 18, 1950 to Maria Copier (born June 14, 1923, in Holland); issue: a—Pearl, born July 9, 1951. (5)—*Mae*, born Sep-

tember 8, 1924; died September 12, 1924. (6)—*Ruth*, born October 6, 1926; married November 1, 1946 to Richard W. Madsen (III); issue: a—Richard Lee, born October 21, 1947; b—Melvin Ballard, born January 24, 1949, died January 27, 1949.

III—Henderson Elias, born April 20, 1870, in St. George; died February 8, 1941; married May 24, 1894, to Emma Rosetta Hunt (born November 2, 1873, died November 12, 1946); issue:

A—LeRoy Henderson, born March 11, 1895; married July 11, 1921, to Lillian Orton; issue: (1)—*Marilyn*, born May 11, 1925; married June 29, 1943, to John Raymond Squiers; issue: a—Judith Rae, born October 6, 1944. (2)—*Darrell LeRoy*, born March 17, 1929, died February 19, 1934. (3)—*Arla LaVonne*, born October 20, 1931. (4)—*Lowell Orton*, born April 19, 1933. \*

B—Portha Ann, born September 8, 1896, died February 17, 1897.

C—Elizabeth, born March 27, 1898; married June 16, 1919, to Robert Edward Murphy; issue: (1)—*Helen*, born February 5, 1921; married February 13, 1942, to Denver Franklin Cook; issue: a—Cynthia Loraine, born June 2, 1944; b—Steven Franklin, born August 13, 1948.

D—Pearl, born December 12, 1899, died April 10, 1900.

E—Elden Wayne, born April 2, 1901, never married, died February 3, 1949.

F—Marion Edwin, born July 8, 1903, married July 28, 1926, to Mary Lucille Schiss; issue: (1)—*Margene*, born August 22, 1929, married July 16, 1947, to Vance Budge Waite; issue: a—Robert Vance, born December 26, 1948. (2)—*Duane Edwin*, born August 9, 1933. (3)—*Diane*, born January 14, 1944.

G—Hyrum Hunt, born November 27, 1905, married November 9, 1935, to Nellie Iverson; issue: (1)—*Hyrum Bruce*, born August 23, 1936. (2)—*Emma Frances*, born

\* Married June 8, 1953 to Donna Rae Harris.

April 8, 1938. (3)—*Roma Rae*, born February 2, 1940 (4)—*Raymon Dale*, born March 25, 1942. (5)—*Lyn Valnor*, born June 10, 1945. (6)—*Wayne Eldon*, born January 15, 1949.

H—*Emma*, born May 21, 1908, married February 10, 1926, to *Lloyd Betensen Burton* (born July 21, 1899); issue: (1)—*James Enoch*, born October 23, 1928. (2)—*Deon Beth*, born August 22, 1930, married November 6, 1948, to *Kahl Laub Gubler* (born December 16, 1928); issue: a—*Kahl Randolph*, born May 30, 1949. (3)—*Emma Lu Dean*, born August 17, 1933. (4)—*Monte*, born October 24, 1936.

I—*Nellie*, born March 30, 1911, married February 12, 1937, to *Horace Edward Slade* (born February 20, 1908); issue: (1)—*Edward Joseph*, born December 17, 1938, died December 18, 1938. (2)—*Lawrence James*, born March 1, 1940. (3)—*Linda Jeanne*, born June 25, 1943. (4)—*Karma*, born September 19, 1944. (5)—*Norma*, born September 19, 1944.

J—*Rulon Barney*, born February 11, 1913, married July 14, 1934, to *Ida May Iverson*; issue: (1)—*Rulon Walter*, born February 12, 1935. (2)—*Mervyn Kay*, born September 24, 1936. (3)—*Ida Deloa*, born October 27, 1939. (4)—*Mary Beth*, born June 17, 1941, died November 22, 1942. (5)—*Wendell Alton*, born December 20, 1945.

K—*Robert Edgar*, born October 9, 1919, married December 26, 1941, to *Rena Nielsen*, no issue; divorced October 14, 1946. Robert married second, February 8, 1947, to *Jean Gubler* (born March 3, 1924); issue: (1)—*Robert Wayne*, born January 7, 1948. (2)—*Janice*, born September 14, 1949. (3)—*Janet*, born September 14, 1949, died October 19, 1951.

IV—*Warren*, born July 4, 1872, in St. George, married September 5, 1894, to *Mary Etta Lee* (born April 6, 1875); issue:

A—*Paul Raymond*, born June 17, 1895, died same day.

B—Warren Lee, born June 17, 1896, died October 8, 1932; married June 12, 1919, to Golda Maude Prince; issue: (1)—*Lee Warren*, born April 21, 1920, married August 27, 1940, to Minnie Anna Neilsen (born November 9, 1921); issue: a—*Carolee*, born May 31, 1946. (2)—*Parke Prince*, born June 25, 1921, married September 12, 1942, to Emily Brown (born October 20, 1922); issue: a—*Tina*, born November 19, 1943. b—*Karen*, born October 22, 1945. (3)—*Norma*, born September 4, 1922, married January 1, 1942, to Howard Earl Beck (born August 16, 1920); issue: a—*Pennie Rae*, born January 4, 1943. b—*Janet Sue*, born March 23, 1944. (4)—*Donald*, born October 31, 1924, died November 3, 1924. (5)—*Thelma*, born October 28, 1926, married February 18, 1946, to Clark A. Griffith (born June 12, 1922); issue: a—*Gloria*, born April 1, 1947. b—*Misha*, born December 22, 1948. (6)—*Dorothy*, born November 22, 1929, married May 5, 1947, to Grant Tobler (born August 16, 1926); issue: a—*Vicki Lou*, born July 29, 1948.

C—*Areta*, born July 9, 1898, married June 14, 1917, to Vernon Church (born November 9, 1896); issue: (1)—*Pauline*, born November 28, 1918, married September 12, 1934, to Delworth Wilson (born August 4, 1917); issue: a—*DeLois*, born February 17, 1935. b—*Marietta*, born November 17, 1936. c—*Delworth Ray*, born September 16, 1938. d—*Phil Vernon*, born December 4, 1941. e—*Morris Evan*, born January 23, 1944. (2)—*Walter Haden*, born December 20, 1920, married August 30, 1940, to Muriel Stratton (born December 23, 1920); issue: a—*Bruce Walter*, born June 9, 1941. b—*Gloria*, born April 30, 1944. c—*Dennis*, born December 12, 1947. d—*Darleen*, born July 31, 1949. (3)—*Warren Harvey*, born December 20, 1920, died April 9, 1949, married December 21, 1945, to Rosemary Spears (born February 26, 1922); no issue. (4)—*Karl Vernon*, born April 29, 1923, married December 12, 1945, to Grace Duncan, issue: a—*Sharon*, born August 23, 1947. b—*Mace Karl*, born November 2, 1948. (5)—*Mildred*, born June 23, 1926, died same day. (6)—*Richard LaVon*, born January 30, 1929. (7)—*La Reta*, born Sep-



tember 30, 1933, married February 27, 1952, to Norman Gates.

D.—Melvin Eugene, born December 18, 1900, married August 23, 1924, to Harriet Hoyt (born March 16, 1904); issue: (1)—*Mona*, born February 12, 1926, married May 26, 1944, to Robert Charles Smith, issue: a—*Sandra*, born April 30, 1947. *Mona* and Robert Smith were divorced November 18, 1947.\* *Mona* married second May 20, 1948, to Cloyd Garth Barton (born November 18, 1921); issue: b—*Geraldine*, born February 7, 1949. (2)—*Norman Hoyt*, born February 16, 1927, married December 12, 1946, to Mary Down Barton (born May 21, 1927); issue: a—*Ronald Eugene*, born November 13, 1947. b—*Sharon Anette*, born February 22, 1949. c—*Barbara Dawn*, born October 11, 1951. (3)—*Loleta*, born August 12, 1930, married February 12, 1948, to Harold Herman Jackson, issue: a—*Joan*, born December 17, 1948. (4)—*Lorna*, born February 28, 1932.

E.—*Lida*, born May 19, 1903, married March 31, 1922, to William Harvey Prince (born April 6, 1903), issue: (1)—*Douglas Fletcher*, born January 4, 1923, married May 22, 1941, to Beth Ola Gubler (born November 14, 1922), issue: a—*Peggy Jane*, born July 7, 1942. b—*Douglas Leon*, born June 27, 1944. c—*Gwendolyn*, born August 29, 1945. d—*William Robert*, born February 21, 1948. e—*Frances Kaye*, born March 19, 1949. (2)—*William Wayne*, born April 26, 1924, married February 9, 1943, to Isabelle Clair Newman (born May 11, 1924); issue: a—*Richard Wayne*, born November 19, 1943. b—*Miream*, born August 9, 1946. c—*Gayla*, born October 1, 1948. (3)—*Jack Raymond*, born June 30, 1926, married June 21, 1946, to Yvonne Morgan (born July 14, 1924), issue: a—*Laneeaa Gay*, born July 24, 1947. (4)—*George F.*, born June 23, 1928, married October 25, 1946, to LaRue Morgan (born June 20, 1928), issue: a—*Kay Lynn*, born August 31, 1947. b—*George Michael*, born May 24, 1949. (5)—*Ronald Leo*, born September 8, 1933. (6)—*Lida Marlene*, born July 17, 1935.

\* *Mona's* fourth child—a girl, born July 8, 1953.

F—Leona, born December 21, 1905, married February 5, 1925, to Rudger Clauson Atkin (born June 24, 1904, issue: (1)—*Rudger Clayton*, born March 18, 1926, married March 10, 1948, to Barbara Joy Vander Weyst (born November 3, 1929), issue: a—*Jerry Clayton*, born February 27, 1949. (2)—*Lou Jean*, born August 23, 1927, married July 15, 1947, to Harry Archie Lundin (born May 2, 1928), issue: a—*Cathy*, born August 11, 1949. (3)—*Lee Clauson*,\* born December 11, 1932. (4)—*Sidney Joseph*, born July 16, 1934. (5)—*Bruce Cox*, born February 6, 1939. (6)—*Dennis Warren*, born December 29, 1940, died December 15, 1941. (7)—*Jeffery Ralph*, born June 4, 1943

G—Vinal Loraine, born February 25, 1908, married September 12, 1929, to Anna Carter, issue: (1)—*Loretta*, born February 5, 1931, married August 5, 1948, to Lewis Dale Cannon, issue: a—*Dixie*, born February 27, 1949. (2)—*JoAnn*, born April 25, 1933, died December 22, 1934. (3)—*Gerald Loraine*, born November 14, 1935. (4)—*Sylvia Ann*, born January 13, 1938. (5)—*James Carter*, born December 9, 1942.

H—Kenneth LaVon, born January 11, 1910, married February 12, 1936, to Anna Ida Farrer (born June 2, 1915), issue: (1)—*Donna Lee*, born October 1, 1938. (2)—*Kenneth Keith*, born May 31, 1940. (3)—*Arthur Bruce*, born September 20, 1942. (4)—*Genevieve*, born February 26, 1945. (5)—*Ernest Warren*, born December 18, 1946.

I—Marie, born June 1, 1913, married March 15, 1933, to Athe Meeks, issue: (1)—*Larry Athe*, born April 11, 1934. (2)—*Rose Marie*, born September 8, 1936. (3)—*Kent Cox*, born September 5, 1939.

J—Irene, born July 13, 1915, married August 1, 1939, to Walter Stephens Brooks, issue: (1)—*Paul Walter*, born August 30, 1940. (2)—*Leona*, born May 12, 1942. (3)—*Lida*, born May 12, 1942. (4)—*Nellie*, born May 5, 1945. (5)—*Nita*, born May 5, 1945.

K—Noma, born November 25, 1918, married December 19, 1934, to Richard Sullivan Bentley (born December 2, 1915), issue: (1)—*Darylene*, born March 17, 1938.

\* Married March 20, 1953 to Cleo Remington.

(2)—*Richard Sullivan*, born November 11, 1939. (3)—*William Warren*, born February 18, 1941. (4)—*Gordon Rene*, born December 28, 1943. (5)—*Jerre Frederic*, born May 27, 1947.

V—*Marion Wayne*, born November 20, 1874, in St. George, died September 25, 1897.

VI—*Louisa*, born December 2, 1877, in St. George, died February 19, 1907; married October 26, 1905, to *James Anthony Jepson*, issue:

A—*Marion Wayne*, born June 20, 1906, married March 27, 1942, to *Jane Huffaker*; issue: (1)—*Sherilyn*, born April 3, 1949.

VII—*Jedediah*, born March 27, 1881, in St. George, died August 13, 1949; married October 20, 1903, to *Rachel Hunt* (born March 27, 1886); issue:

A—*Lewis Hunt*, born June 13, 1906, married June 1, 1937, to *Anna Isabelle Campbell*; issue: (1)—*Charlene*, born September 19, 1941.

B—*Ruth*, born October 8, 1908, married October 25, 1927, to *Russell Heath Walter* (born April 7, 1902); issue: (1)—*LaFawn Tew*, born July 10, 1928, married July 18, 1947, to *Chester Wesley Whitehead* (born April 10, 1925), issue: a—*Dorothy*, born March 14, 1949. (2)—*Dorothy*, born January 10, 1931. (3)—*Russell Heath*, born August 24, 1932.

C—*Paul Jedediah*, born May 27, 1913, married March 18, 1935, to *Mary Ruth McMullen* (born Jan. 25, 1913); issue: (1)—*Paul Roger*, born November 12, 1935. (2)—*Mary Christine*, born February 28, 1944.

D—*Louisa*, born January 20, 1916, married August 2, 1933, to *Bruce Nielson Bulloch* (born January 25, 1915); issue: (1)—*Boyd*, born April 24, 1934. (2)—*Beverly Ruth*, born September 7, 1936.

E—*Grant Hunt*, born July 9, 1917, married October 7, 1939, to *Margaret Verle Black*, issue: (1)—*Charles Lewis*,

born August 17, 1940. (2)—*Margie Kay*, born January 12, 1942. (3)—*Grant Hunt*, born April 7, 1945.

F—*Carl Hunt*, born May 17, 1918, died same day.

VIII—*Ruth Winona*, born August 18, 1886, in St. George, married April 27, 1907, to *Edgar Leoneas Ferree*, no issue.

### HOSEA STOUT, JR.

1850 - 1918

Hosea was born April 5, 1850, in Salt Lake City, and died March 1, 1918, in Glendale, Arizona. He was married December 13, 1869, in the Endowment House to *Elizabeth Hammond* (born February 6, 1852, died January 24, 1938), a daughter of *Joseph and Elizabeth Egbert Hammond*.

Issue:

I—*Elizabeth Josephine*, born October 26, 1870, died January 25, 1876.

II—*Hosea*, born March 6, 1872, died October 19, 1875.

III—*Louisa*, born September 21, 1873, died January 10, 1876.

IV—*Sarah Estella*, born September 24, 1875, married January 5, 1897, to *Charles Robert Chesnut*.

Issue:

A—*William Robert*, born October 27, 1897, married January 2, 1946, to *Amanda* ————; no issue.

B—*Anna Elizabeth*, born February 22, 1899, married in 1919 to *William Bennett*, issue: (1)—*Elizabeth*, born September 14, 1920, married *Mr. Christensen*, no record of children. (2)—*Evelyn Louisa*, born November 16, 1921, married July 7, 1939, to *Johnny Schmidt*, no record of any children. (3)—*Lee Arnold*, born July 28, 1926.

C—*Mary Josephine*, born February 2, 1903, married in 1922 to *Ralph Elton Hardy*, issue: (1)—*Ralph Russell*, born January 26, 1923. (2)—*Clara Josephine*, born August 19, 1939.

D—Alice Eveline, born March 6, 1909, married in 1928 to Ernest Joshua Shelley, issue: (1)—Rex, born February 7, 1928. (2)—Roy, born January 30, 1939. (3)—Audrey Kay, born in 1940.

V—Anne, born February 6, 1877, married May 23, 1927, to Charles D. M. Williams (died September 3, 1949), no issue.

VI—Joseph Hammond, born August 7, 1879, died February 12, 1900.

VII—Charles Henry, born December 10, 1880, died January 24, 1886.

VIII—Robert Eli, born February 5, 1884, died February 4, 1886.

IX—Mary Louise, born July 8, 1888, married December 10, 1907, to Ralph L. Guiwits; issue:

A—Elizabeth Grace, born February 2, 1909, married December 25, 1927, to Vandalear Elmer Van Norman, issue: (1)—Ralph Elmer, born September 6, 1928.

B—Martha Ann, born July 29, 1910, married July 11, 1930, to Thornton Milam Hunt, issue: (1)—Joseph Milam, born May 6, 1931. (2)—Patricia Ann, born July 17, 1932.

C—Ruth Louisa, born January 11, 1912, married April 7, 1933, to William Owen Farquhar; issue: (1)—Florence Irene, born March 31, 1938.

D—Florence Irene, born October 29, 1913, married April 5, 1935, to William Mayo, no issue. Florence died March 29, 1938.

E—Robert Wesley, born August 16, 1916, married December 31, 1938, to Stella Lorene Srack, issue: (1)—Robert Wesley, born February 12, 1941. (2)—Linda Lorene, born January 10, 1944.

F—Mary Catherine, born July 2, 1918, married June 5, 1937, to Karl E. Hartman, no issue.

X—Verdie May, born May 1, 1892, died March 21, 1943, married September 21, 1910, to Roger Palmer Wilson (died October 31, 1939).

## Issue:

A—Roger Palmer, born September 7, 1913, married September 11, 1935, to Bobbie Miller, issue: (1)—*Dudley Eugene*, born December 13, 1936. (2)—*Roger Earl*, born May 3, 1938.

B—Dudley Pervical, born June 9, 1916, married February 7, 1942, to Frances Davis (born December 30, 1922), issue: (1)—*Dennis Lee*, born November 28, 1942. (2)—*Michael Lynn*, born January 29, 1943.

C—Gordon Thomas, born April 14, 1918, married August 10, 1940, to Edna Stevens (born October 23, 1918), issue: (1)—*Leslie Gray*, born May 20, 1942. (2)—*Susan Rae*, born December 19, 1943. (3)—*Janice Carol*, born February 2, 1947.

D—Eugene Spencer, born October 10, 1919, married March 22, 1941, to Alice Gilbert, issue: (1)—*Larry Gene*, born November 12, 1941. (2)—*Lee Gilbert*, born October 11, 1948.

E—Elizabeth Shephard, born April 1, 1922, married November 9, 1946, to Elmer Ellsworth Phillips, issue: (1)—*Mark Lionel*, born December 17, 1948.

F—Philip Samuel, born March 7, 1924, married January 3, 1947, to Patricia Brown; no issue, divorced March 15, 1948.

G—Helen Therisia, born March 28, 1930, married February 18, 1949, to George Armstrong; no issue.

XI—Helen Minerva, born March 17, 1895, married December 4, 1912, to James Edward Callahan.

## Issue:

A—James Edward, born August 3, 1913, married December 25, 1948, to Kireaky Loleas (born February 14, 1922); no issue.

B—Augusta Ann, born November 11, 1917, married April 21, 1936, to William Harold Stone (born April 8, 1912); issue: (1)—*Nina*, born October 28, 1941.

C—Fanny Bell, born April 5, 1921, married July 7, 1939, to Mike Schmidt; issue: (1)—*Patricia Ann*, born

February 13, 1939. (2)—*Michael*, born June 17, 1941. (3)—*Joe Dee*, born March 20, 1944. Fanny and Mikie were divorced March 23, 1947. Fanny married second February 3, 1949, to Art D. Sharp; issue: (4)—*John Alfred*, born December 10, 1949.

D—Joseph Leonard, born July 22, 1926; never married.

E—Helen Elizabeth, born July 18, 1928, married in July 1946 to Daniel Hempleman (born July 22, 1928); issue: (1)—*Daniel*, born January 7, 1949.

F—Patricia May, born April 15, 1930, married in July 1947 to James M. Hodge; issue: (1)—*Sheryll Lynn*, born February 29, 1948.

### ELI HARVEY STOUT

1851 - 1925

Eli was born September 17, 1851, in Salt Lake City, died November 22, 1925, at Oakland, California, buried at Murray, Utah. Eli married March 29, 1872, to Carrie Hansen, daughter of Peter and Annie Nielson Hansen, born December 10, 1852, in Copenhagen, Denmark; died in Salt Lake City December 3, 1915.

Issue:

L—Eli Harvey, born January 4, 1874, in Salt Lake City, died August 8, 1947; married January 15, 1902, to Elizabeth Jane Sperry. Issue:

A—Eleanor Delores, born December 20, 1920, married April 23, 1937, to Fred Schroeder; issue: (1)—*Fred Robert*, born October 13, 1938. (2)—*Eleanor Delores*, born May 17, 1940. (3)—*Donald Mark*, born April 17, 1944.

B—Evelyn, born May 21, 1904, married August 26, 1941, to Walter Howard Knight, no issue.

C—Melba, born March 13, 1906, married May 25, 1931, to Stephen Loren Huff; issue: (1)—*Jannet*, born October 6, 1933. (2)—*Stephen Loren*, born August 14, 1938.

D—Clarence Harvey, born February 28, 191, married February 18, 1932, to Lola Douglas; issue: (1)—*Douglas*





Louisa Taylor  
1819-1853



Alvira Wilson  
1834-1910

	Louisa	Alvira
Children .....	8	11
Grand Children .....	29	25
Great Grand Children .....	79	80
Great Great Grand Children .....	183	88
Great Great Great Grand Children .....	79	6
TOTALS .....	378	210

Ending December 31, 1949.

GRAND TOTAL ..... 588.

*Harvey*, born January 4, 1935. (2)—*Norman Clarence*, born June 4, 1938.

II—*Louisa*, born December 26, 1875, in South Cottonwood, married January 30, 1895, to William Oliver Sperry (born October 1, 1874), issue:

A—*Pearl*, born December 11, 1895, married August 15, 1917 to Vern Snyder (born July 30, 1886), issue: (1) *Donna*, born October 30, 1920, married June 16, 1941 to Leslie D. Chrissensen, issue: a—*David*, born April 3, 1947. (2) *Conway*, born February 7, 1923, married June 17, 1948 to Frances M. Green, issue: a—*Ruth Ann*, born August 3, 1949; (3) *Shirley*, born October 30, 1924, married August 30, 1945 to Charles Lee, issue: a—*Craig Vernon*, born February 7, 1947. (4)—*Jeannie*, born April 17, 1926, married May 1, 1946 to Nels Lindorff, issue: a—*Keren*, born November 30, 1947. (5)—*Bonnie Marie*, born January 16, 1928, married November 3, 1947 to Hal Bills, issue: a—*Marjorie*, born October 20, 1948; b—*Kenneth Gene*, born July 22, 1949. (6)—*Joy*, born October 19, 1929, married April 22, 1948 to Glenn Meriam Jensen, issue: a—*Stanley*, born December 11, 1948. (7)—*Dan*, born September 24, 1936. (8)—*Kay*, born August 7, 1938.

B—Vernon William, born September 26, 1898, married August 19, 1921 to Betty Kanard, no issue. Vernon and Betty were divorced July 22, 1924. Vernon married second, November 8, 1924 to Iva Steers (born December 28, 1894) issue: (1)—*Iva Lou*, born November 24, 1926, married June 23, 1945 to Donald Lewis West, issue: a—Donald Lewis, born October 25, 1946; b—Vernon Sperry, born October 9, 1949.

C—LeRoy Wayne, born March 11, 1901 married January 19, 1924 to Clara Petrea Anderson, issue: (1)—*Keith LeRoy*, born November 3, 1924, married December 19, 1945 to Beverly Floretta Pullan, no issue, divorced May 13, 1947. Before his marriage Keith changed his name to Farrer. LeRoy and Clara were divorced February 13, 1927. LeRoy married second, August 24, 1942 to Cleoma Larson, no issue.

D—Myrtle Louisa, born May 7, 1904 married October 18, 1923 to Thomas Billings Parry (born October 1, 1895) issue: (1)—*Thomas Billings*, born September 11, 1923; (2)—*Betty Lou*, born February 21, 1925, married Elden Viril Taylor December 23, 1943, issue: a—Steve Lee, born November 13, 1945, b—Kathleen Ann, born November 3, 1947

E—Paul Edmund, born January 17, 1913, married June 20, 1932 to Christie Steffenson (born Jan. 12, 1914), issue: (1)—*Paul Edmund*, born March 10, 1933, (2)—*Ruth*, born August 13, 1934.

III—Carrie Rosella, born January 25, 1878 in Salt Lake City, married January 20, 1897 to William David Edmunds, (born August 20, 1873, died November 27, 1943, issue:

A—Florence Luretta, born January 5, 1898, married March 10, 1922 to Charles F. Jenz, no issue, divorced March 24, 1938. Florence married second, July 2, 1939 to Montie Blair Wood, no issue.

B—William Earl, born May 11, 1899 died November 8, 1912.

IV—Reuben Hosea, born May 16, 1879 in Murray, Utah died August 2, 1881.

V—Arthur Raymond, born November 29, 1882 in South Cottonwood, married June 16, 1914 to Grace Springfellow, issue:

A—Arthur Raymond, born July 29, 1916, married January 29, 1941 to Mary Louise Stump, issue: (1)—*Sandra Lee*, born February 4, 1947.

VI—Albert LeRoy, born April 29, 1885 at Park City, Utah, married May 17, 1910 to Mable Goats, issue:

—A—Reed Albert, born December 14, 1911, married August 1, 1941 to Eunice Elizabeth Ryberg (born November 10, 1912), issue: (1)—*Reed Ryberg*, born February 27, 1944; (2)—*Elizabeth*, born April 23, 1947.

B—Clair LeRoy, born February 24, 1913, married June 29, 1940 to Iris Parrish (born May 24, 1908) issue: (1)—*Helen Claire*, born November 23, 1942; (2)—*Carol Lee*, born December 8, 1946.

C—Joseph Harvey, born February 14, 1915, married June 19, 1938 to Sara Edna Alberti (born August 8, 1915), issue: (1)—*Robert John* born June 19, 1940.

VII—William Franklin (no one in the family knows which name comes first), born December 16, 1887 at Murray, Utah, married October 1, 1910 to Hesel Menarry (born December 20, 1890) issue:

A—Grace Lorraine, born October 7, 1911, married August 20, 1932 to Roderick Sturman, issue: (1)—*Roger Rex*, born August 28, 1934; (2)—*Lorraine Kaye*, born May 16, 1948.

B—Wendell F., born December 23, 1912, married December 1, 1932 to Dale Thomas, issue: (1)—*Richard Lee*, born February 13, 1934; (2)—*Robert Thomas* born February 1, 1937; (3)—*Bonnie Dale*, born October 14, 1941; (4)—*Barbara Jean* born October 27, 1944.

C—Edith, born September 6, 1915, married September 4, 1937 to Raymond Heislip, issue: (1)—*Janine Rae*, born October 11, 1938.

D—Marion Ellen, born July 30, 1924, married October 16, 1942 to John Q. Adams (born December 21, 1921) issue: (1)—*Sheryl Lee*, born January 24, 1946; (2)—*JudyLynn*, born January 26, 1948.

VIII—Sarah May, born May 20, 1890 in Salt Lake City, married September 9, 1908 to Abraham Chadwick (born March 9, 1887 died December 17, 1935), issue:

A—Virginia, born June 7, 1909 died same day.

B—Virgil Blaine, born November 26, 1910, married June 1, 1934 to Regenia Moody (born September 21, 1913), issue: (1)—*Patricia Ann*, born March 8, 1935; (2)—*Gloria May*, born September 27, 1936; (3)—*Carol Jean*, born November 6, 1938; (4)—*Douglas Blaine*, born March 8, 1940; (5)—*Juda Norma*, born February 11, 1946; (6)—*Sara Margaret*, born September 4, 1947.

C—Earl, born September 12, 1913, died same day.

D—Norma Louise, born May 26, 1916, married September 7, 1937 to John Richmond Arnold, issue: (1)—*Jacqueline Norma*, born March 2, 1940; (2)—*Sally Chadwick*, born November 2-12, 1941.

Sarah May married second, December 27, 1937 to James L. Norie, no issue.

IX—Pearl Elizabeth, born April 20, 1892 in Salt Lake City (died December 30, 1899).

X—Florence Ann, born June 2, 1896 in Salt Lake City, married March 3, 1913 to Herman Lorin Andelin, issue:

A—Herman Earl, born August 28, 1913. Herman was adopted March 26, 1917 by William Herbert Stayner of Brigham City, Utah. Henceforth he was known as Herman Earl Stayner. Herman married October 5, 1935 to Emma Smith, issue: (1) — *Sharon Rae*, born December 25, 1937; (2) — *Dean William*, born June 22, 1948. Florence and Herman were divorced March 25, 1919 at Richfield Utah. Florence married second, July 8, 1917 to Edward M. Marsh, no issue. Florence and Edward were divorced September 9, 1935 at Port Angeles, Washington. Florence married third, March 25, 1936 to Gunner William Restrup, no issue.

## JOSEPH ALLEN STOUT

1852-1853

Joseph Allen was born December 30, 1852 in Salt Lake City, died January 9, 1853.

## LEWIS WILSON STOUT

Lewis was born April 27, 1856 in Salt Lake City, the oldest child of Alvira Wilson Stout. Lewis was killed at Mammoth, Utah, March 31, 1889. Lewis married September 18, 1879 to his first cousin, Amanda Melvina Fisk Stout, Daughter of Allen Joseph Stout, she was born January 15, 1861 at Pleasant Grove, Utah, died June 28, 1916 at Lemington, Utah. Issue:

I—Amanda, born September 7, 1880 at Rockville, Utah, married August 22, 1898 to Arthur Cody Haines Smith (born May 18, 1872, died March 23, 1934) issue:

A—Arthur Lewis, born April 18, 1899, died March 23, 1900.

B—Alfred Morgan, born February 24, 1901, married February 4, 1925 to Elizabeth Stroup, issue: (1)—*Mary Elizabeth*, born October 25, 1926, married August 13, 1945 to Maurice Cluff, issue: a—Betty Ann, born December 2, 1946; b—Maurice, born September 11, 1948.

C—Edmund Bryant, born April 6, 1903 died June 5, 1914.

D—Edward Myron, born December 16, 1904, married, June 3, 1931 to Ellen McGuire, issue: (1)—*Edward Darrel*, born October 15, 1932; (2)—*June Margaret*, born June 25, 1934; (3)—*Marlene Ellen*, born November 29, 1936; (4)—*David Arthur*, born April 10, 1938; (5)—*Gayle Elaine*, born May 20, 1949.

E—Raymond Ephraim, born October 6, 1906, died July 25, 1925.

F—Ethel Ellen, born April 3, 1909, married October 16, 1926 to Orval Jackson Moore, issue: (1)—*Orlen Jackson*, born June 19, 1928, married July 31, 1948 to Nelda Hoffman, no issue to date. (2)—*Leland Wayne*, born March 18, 1930. Ethel and Orval were separated in 1931. Ethel married second to Jerry Fray in 1933, issue: (3)—*Geraldine*, born August 13, 1934; (4)—*John*, born October 15, 1935; (5)—*Alfred*, born December 28, 1936.

G—Warren David, born June 20, 1911, married July 21, 1936 to Edna Chesley (died July 22, 1936), Warren

married second, Margaret Lou Harding, separated soon. Warren married third, May 9, 1938 to Helen G. Galger, issue: (1)—*James Warren*, born February 1, 1939.

H—*Ida Mae*, born August 29, 1913, married May 21, 1932 to Lester H. Wren, no issue. Lester died December 25, 1941. *Ida* married second, June 16, 1946 to John W. Ward, no issue.

I—*Edith*, born December 6, 1914, married December 1, 1932 to Paul Hensley (born June 19, 1906, issue: (1)—*Porta Lee*, born April 12, 1938; (2)—*Paula Dee*, born August 20, 1939; (3)—*Ted Cody*, born December 16, 1947.

J—*Wilford*, born March 13, 1916, married May 29, 1939 to Dorothy Irene Cochran, issue: (1)—*Edna May*, born January 27, 1940; (2)—*Patricia*, born January 8, 1942

K—*Marvin Omer*, born November 6, 1920, married April 29, 1945 to Vada Marie Allen, issue: (1)—*Marcia Marie*, born April 17, 1946; (2)—*Linda Louise*, born July 19, 1947.

L—*Benjamin*, born October 26, 1923 married May 16, 1947 to LaRue Smith, issue: (1)—*Phillis Louise*, born August 22, 1949.

II—*Lewis Wilson*, born October 16, 1882 at Holladay, Utah, married June 18, 1913 to Charlotte Hansen, issue:

A—*Lewis Woodruff*, born May 23, 1914, married December 1, 1937 to Genevieve Louise Eccles (born November 12, 1917), issue (1)—*Ronald Woodruff*, born May 21, 1939; (2)—*Gerald Eccles*, born September 1, 1942; (3)—*LaVon*, born June 6, 1946; (4)—*Barbara Louise*, born September 18, 1948, died October 2, 1948.

B—*Inez*, born August 10, 1916, married June 20, 1938 to Jay Daniel Whipple, issue: (1)—*Connie*, born April 18, 1939; (2)—*Joyce*, born September 9, 1941; (3)—*David Jay*, born February 28, 1944, died July 24, 1945; (4)—*Janice*, born August 26, 1946.

C—*Alta*, born April 23, 1918, married September 19, 1940 to Walter Alexander Wade, no issue.

D—*Naomi*, born January 19, 1920, married April 10, 1940 to Samuel Olsen, no issue.

E—Charlotte, born April 17, 1922 married April 19, 1941 to Richard Webley Folland, issue: (1)—*David Robert*, born September 7, 1946; (2)—*Susan LaRaine*, born November 26, 1949.

F—Harold Hansen, born May 11, 1925, married June 20, 1952 to Joan Ruth Smith.

G—LaRaine, born January 16, 1928, married December 4, 1950 to Charles Boyd McKeon.

H—Arza, born September 20, 1930.

I—Richard Lee, born December 27, 1933

J—Marion Grant, born December 24, 1936.

III—Alvira, born October 8, 1884 at Lemmington, Utah, married March 26, 1913 to Samuel Bradford Fullerton (born November 30, 1873, died September 10, 1942), issue:

A—Edith, born February 19, 1914, married September 25, 1941 to Honore Brewer Cook, issue: (1)—*Virginia Lee*, born December 9, 1942; (2)—*Vicki Loraine*, born December 14, 1944; (3)—*Roma Honore*, born October 3, 1947.

B—Samuel Keith, born June 26, 1915, married August 16, 1935 to Dona Shakespeare, issue: (1)—*Dona Lynn*, born February 16, 1936; (2)—*Carol Dawn*, born August 30, 1938. Samuel and Dona were separated after 1938. Samuel married second, November 1, 1947 to Verna Oelschlager, no known issue, separated later.

C—Roma, born August 14, 1917, died April 3, 1946.

D—Lewis Alexander, born September 14, 1920, married November 1, 1945 to Claire Knorr, no issue, separated March 4, 1948. Lewis married second, January 7, 1951 to Beatrice Henriod issue: (1) — *Lewis Keith*, born August 18, 1951.

E—Walter Hardy, born August 13, 1922, married October 6, 1943 to Lois Jolley, issue: (1)—*Marthal*, born January 29, 1945; (2)—*Walter*, born March 25, 1948; (3) — *Karma Jean*, born February 28, 1950.

IV—Walter Milton, born November 28, 1886, married June 12, 1913 to Martha Elizabeth Hansen (born October 18, 1894, died June 15, 1917) issue:



Walter Douglas, born May 4, 1914, died May 17, 1917.

B—Archie Leon, born September 6, 1915, married December 8, 1943 to Minnie Farr, issue: (1)—*Judy*, born September 4, 1944; (2)—*Archie Leon*, born April 22, 1947.

C—Agnes, born March 17, 1917, married September 1, 1937 to Marrell E. Dastrup, issue: (1)—*Merrill Creig*, born December 15, 1939; (2)—*Edwin Roland*, born February 27, 1942; (3)—*Delsie Elaine*, born March 23, 1945; (4)—*Jeanine*, born September 16, 1947.

Walter Milton married second, May 8, 1919 to Dency Cardon (born February 25, 1899) issue:

D—Marwood Milton, born June 25, 1920, married August 20, 1941 to Lillie Jackson, issue: (1)—*Marva Kay*, born October 16, 1943; (2)—*Mary Ann*, born July 27, 1945; (3)—*Linda Joy*, born May 9, 1948

E—Alden Cardon, born May 18, 1922, married December 6, 1949 to Novice Marguerite Morris.

F—Melvina, born March 23, 1923, married November 10, 1941 to Thomas R. Mohler, issue: (1)—*Jacqueline*, born February 18, 1947. Melvina and Thomas were divorced March 1, 1948. Melvina married second, May 1, 1948 to Winfield Raymond Clark, issue: (2)—*Raymond Arthur*, born December 15, 1948.

G—Rosina, born March 23, 1923, married August 31, 1940 to Willie Eaton, issue: (1)—*Wardrie Lee*, born May 3, 1941 (2)—*Walter Raymond*, born October 12, 1942; (3)—*Peggy Ann*, born September 7, 1944; (4)—*Willis Eaton*, born November 30, 1947.

H—Gwen, born February 18, 1926, married August 31, 1942 to Roland H. Forbes, no issue. Gwen and Roland were divorced March 11, 1946. Gwen married second, July 6, 1946 to Steven Shubbs, issue: (1)—*Allen Jay*, born February 19, 1947; (2)—*Gayle Ruth* born September 25, 1948.

I—Glen Allen, born February 18, 1926, killed November 2, 1946.

J—Nathan Lewis, born January 25, 1927, married July 4, 1947 to Mary Jessie Rants, issue: (1)—*Nathan Forrest*, born August 22, 1948.

K—Belya Ann, born January 31, 1929 married December 3, 1948 to Vern Gregory Mauchley, issue: (1)—*Gregory Vern*, born September 16, 1949.

L—Lawrence Kenyon, born January 15, 1931.

M—Phillip Derryl, born September 24, 1932.

N—Dency Lee, born October 12, 1939.

V—Lydia, born September 12, 1888, married May 1, 1913 to John Bradshaw (born July 6, 1890), issue:

A—Ruth, born March 10, 1914 married October 1938 to Earl Walker Dewey, issue: (1)—*Elizabeth Jane*, born September 17, 1939.

B—Lucille, born January 18, 1916 never married.

C—Dorothy, born February 8, 1918, married September 1940 to Harley C. Beatty, issue: (1)—*Nancy Caroline*, born August 30, 1941; (2)—*Judith Gay*, born February 5, 1948.

D—Margaret, born February 13, 1921, married September 1939 to Max O. Patterson, issue: (1)—*Marilyn*, born August 5, 1940; (2)—*William Lewis*, born May 24, 1945; (3)—*Ellen Marie*, born October 23, 1946.

E—Marie, born April 28, 1923.

F—Lewis, born April 16, 1925.

G—Bennie, born October 9, 1927.

H—Joanne, born August 12, 1935.

### BRIGHAM HOSEA STOUT

1857-1925

Brigham was born September 5, 1857 in Salt Lake City, never married, died September 24, 1925.

### ALFRED LOZENE STOUT

1859-1896

Alfred was born July 8, 1859 in Salt Lake City never married, died May 18, 1896.

## ALLEN EDWARD STOUT

1861-1938

Uncle Al, as he was better known, was born February 18, 1861 in Salt Lake City, married November 28, 1912 to Rebecca Mortensen (born November 8, 1879), issue:

I—Gene Allen, born September 10, 1913, died June 29, 1928.

Allen Edward Stout died October 5, 1938.

## WILLIAM HOOPER STOUT

1863-1940

William was born October 10, 1863 in St. George, Utah, married June 22, 1893 to Levona Diane North (born June 27, 1872, died February 8, 1937). William died March 1, 1940 in Salt Lake City. Issue:

I—Levona Dean, born June 22, 1894 married May 19, 1916 to Leslie Smith Palmer, issue:

A—Marion, born August 22, 1920, married October 8, 1942 to Tyrus Patrick Sweeney (born April 18, 1916), issue: (1)—Michael Patrick, born April 15, 1944.

II—William Glenn, born June 16, 1896, married November 1, 1924 to LaVera Dorton, no issue. William died June 11, 1945.

III—Lillian Josephine, born Sept. 20, 1898, married May 4, 1936 to Frank Johnson, no issue.

IV—Ada Alvira, born Sept. 18, 1900, died November 22, 1915.

V—Viola, born October 14, 1902, married August 25, 1926 to William Patrick Sweeney, (died November 23, 1947), issue:

A—Janet, born May 27, 1927.

B—Richard Stout, born March 30, 1935.

C—Anne, born October 11, 1937.

VI—Louise, born June 9, 1905, married July 3, 1929 to Nathan Debenham, issue:

A—Robert C., born April 6, 1932. Louise and Nathan were divorced August 21, 1938.

VII—Alta, born February 13, 1909, died March 1, 1909.

VIII—Weston Hosea, born July 12, 1910, married June 3, 1935 to Mary Josephine Turpin (born July 14, 1915), issue:

A—Mary Diane, born September 8, 1938.

B—Linda Louise, born August 9, 1941.

C—Claudia Dean, born January 26, 1945.

### ALVIRA STOUT CLARKSON

Alvira was born June 5, 1866 at St. George, Utah, married September 18, 1884 to Charles Robert Clarkson (born February 2, 1862). Alvira died October 29, 1923, issue:

I—Alvira, born July 9, 1885 in Lemington, Utah, married October 21, 1904 to Frederick Clarence Parker (born February 19, 1874, died September 19, 1912), issue:

A—Agnes, born August 24, 1905, married August 2, 1924 to Gordon Wood, no issue.

B—Hazel, born August 13, 1907, married July 12, 1924, to John Arthur Richmond, issue: (1)—*John Delbert*, born October 13, 1924, married March 17, 1945 to Mabel Jean Koft, issue: a—Bonnie Jean, born April 5, 1946. (2)—*Norma Lorene*, born March 10, 1925, married February 8, 1945 to James Lester Beeman, issue: a—Michael Harrison, born March 21, 1946; b—Charles, born July 8, 1947. (3)—*Charles Arthur*, born August 6, 1927, married February 7, 1948 to Cheyrl Kreitlow, issue: a—William Richard, born March 30, 1949. (4)—*Lawrence Parker*, born November 19, 1928. Hazel and John Richmond were divorced March 20, 1936. Hazel married second, Trueman H. Staples, no issue.

C—Clarence Fenton, born September 9, 1909, married April 2, 1938 to Blanche Lulu Thomas, no issue.

D—Frederick Clarkson, born June 4, 1912, married May 5, 1935 to Virginia Adair Evans, issue: (1)—*Laurena Marilyn*, born March 17, 1936. (2)—*Donna Lee*, born March 20, 1938-9. (3)—*Nancy Adair*, born June 26, 1944.

Alvira married second, April 27, 1929 to Sylvester White (born April 11, 1893), no issue.

II—Ann, born December 2, 1886 at Preston, Idaho, died same day.

III—Charles Robert, born March 19, 1888 at Preston, married March 16, 1914 to Ethel Breeden, issue:

A—Phyllis Ann, born November 27, 1915, married December 5, 1937 to Floyd Gordon Hill, issue: (1)—Mary Susan, born August 24, 1938. (2)—Katherine Louise, born February 21, 1940. (3)—Martha Ann, born May 27, 1941, died July 13, 1944. (4)—Judith Lee, born May 14, 1944. (5)—Patrick, born May — 1946.

B—Clarice Josephine, born January 10, 1919, married July 31, 1948 to Louis Di Pastena, issue: (1)—Phillip, born November 15, 1952.

IV—Hosea Stout, born March 19, 1888, married September 1, 1918 to Catherine Marie Adams, no issue. Catherine died October 29, 1939. Hosea married second, July 24, 1940 to Flora Almire Davidson, no issue.

V—Mary, born December 26, 1889 in Holladay, married April 5, 1909 to Harry Parker, issue:

A—LeRoy Wesley, born February 8, 1910. LeRoy legally changed his name to Henry H. Wair, then married December 22, 1940, to Phyllis H. Brooks, issue: (1)—Phio R., born September 2, 1944.  
Mary and Harry Parker were divorced in 1943-4.

VI—Myrtle, born February 4, 1893 in Preston, Idaho, married July 5, 1915 to Benjamni H. Sewell, issue:

A—Benjamin Wayne, born April 20, 1916, married August 17, 1938 to Eunice Sheffield, issue: (1)—Gordon Wayne, born July 14, 1939; (2)—Paul James, born March 31, 1944. (3)—David Ben, born August 3, 1946.

B—Clyde Raymond, born October 31, 1917, married October 26, 1941 to Hazel Pearl Hall, issue: (1)—Clyde Wallace, born September 11, 1942. (2)—Glen Hall, born August 21, 1944. (3)—George William, born January 15, 1947.

C—Ralph Harrison, born July 12, 1919, married March 1, 1940 to Marie Huish, issue: (1)—*Marie*, born June 28, 1943.

D—Richard Clarkson, born November 21, 1920.

E—Edward Charles, born May 31, 1923, married November 28, 1942 to Gloria Gleave, issue: (1)—*Charles Renard*, born September 11, 1944. (2)—*Steve Clark*, born January 2, 1947.

F—Margaret, born August 31, 1931.

VII—Verna, born May 10, 1895 in Preston, married August 10, 1918 to John Stanley Johnson (born April 27, 1895), issue:

A—Ellen, born March 28, 1920, died same day.

B—Viola born June 29, 1922, married April 2, 1942 to Ferrell Henry Christensen, no issue. Died Dec. 31, 1952.

C—Rosalie, born December 30, 1924, married November 20, 1947 to James Ralph Brown, no issue.

D—Robert Stanley, born March 13, 1928. \*

E—Marilyn, born May 20, 1933.

VIII—Edgar Alfred born June 11, 1897 in Preston, died September 20, 1898.

IX—Ruth, born May 17, 1900 in Hinckley, married July 18, 1922 to Arnold William Melby (born September 25, 1900), issue:

A—Natalie, born January 23, 1924, married April 1, 1943 to Robert Smith Jensen, issue: (1)—*Robert Melby*, born March 20, 1944.

B—Arnold William, born May 12, 1927.

C—Kenneth Oscar, born August 31, 1929, married June 15, 1947 to Charlotte Bryner, issue: (1)—*Alan Kenneth*, born March 25, 1948.

X—Irene, born April 23, 1902 at Trout Creek, Utah, married April 20, 1925 to Clyde R. Thomsen born July 4, 1899), issue:

A—Irene Carol, born December 18, 1925.

\* Married July 3, 1953 to Margaret Helen Buhler.

B—Blaine Clarkson, born May 13, 1927.

C—Gayle Selma, born December 20, 1928.

D—Jeanne, born March 6, 1932.

XI—Della, born March 3, 1907 in Holladay, died June 24, 1923.

### FRANK HENRY STOUT

1868

Frank was born June 9, 1868 in Salt Lake City, died July 9, 1868.

### EDGAR WALTER STOUT

1870-1933

Edgar was born August 2, 1870 in Salt Lake City, served in the Spanish-American War, married August 27, 1913 to Edith Gutschow (born December 23, 1866, died February 21, 1948), no issue. Edgar died in San Francisco October 19, 1933.

### ARTHUR STOUT

1875

Arthur was born February 9, 1875 in Salt Lake City, died same day.

### ADA STOUT

1875

Ada was born February 9, 1875 died August 20, 1875.

### CHARLES STEPHEN STOUT

1876—1951

Charles was born September 30, 1876 in Salt Lake City, served in the Spanish-American War, married February 20, 1907 to Alice Brown, no issue. Charles and Alice were divorced January 3, 1917. Charles married second, May 18, 1916 to Mrs. Rose Fleissen, no issue. No record of a divorce can be found. Charles married third, May 20, 1918 to Mabel Bert, no issue. Charles and Mabel were divorced November 13, 1933. Charles died December 26, 1951.



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# *Appendix*

## JOSEPH SMITH AND WORLD PEACE

Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, was more than the organizer of a new religion, he was a statesman and a profound student of international affairs. Peace, whether individual, national, or international was sought as the supreme objective of this American Prophet. Indeed, the very heart of Mormonism is universal peace. Obviously then, the aims of the United Nations should harmonize consistently with Joseph Smith's concepts of peace. His conception of a world government, however, stood on a different plane than does the Charter of the United Nations. The keystone of his scheme was divine revelation. Smith believed that all human institutions should be divinely organized and directed by inspiration. Since these two philosophies of world order rest on different bottoms, his views toward the Charter of the United Nations should prove very fascinating.

World peace was a live issue in 1840. In that year William Ladd, President of the American Peace Society, advocated the establishment of a congress of nations for the adjustment of international disputes and for the formation of universal peace without resort to arms. His ideas were widely publicized and quoted by the press and statesman of his day. Joseph Smith was well acquainted with the Ladd plan. His reaction to the Ladd's proposal is reflected in his writings:

Said he in 1842:

"Other attempts to promote universal peace and happiness in the human family have proved abortive; every effort has failed; every plan and design has fallen to the ground; it needs the wisdom of God, the intelligence of God, and the power of God to accomplish this.

This prophetic indictment seemingly was pointed straight at Ladd. His "congress of nations" cannot escape the Prophet's charge that its failure to materialize as an instrument of peace was due to the absence of God in its structure. Since there was no divinity in its organization there was no strength in its soul to achieve peace. The accusation of the Prophet, however, runs deeper than the Ladd plan. There have been many "attempts to promote universal peace," says Joseph Smith. A survey of those attempts should prove enlightening.

For many centuries the Roman Empire enforced world peace by force of arms. The conquered nations, deprived of their sovereignty, did not enjoy real peace under such autocracy. Roman imperialism was not built on the rock of revelation, nor was it fashioned by the wisdom of God. Roman power received its

strength from the pagan gods who sought to enslave the world for the glory of Rome. The ancient empire could well be one of those fallen "designs" alluded to which failed as a moral force in effecting peace.

Dante, weary of factional strife in his day, but unable to speak by divine inspiration, advocated a supreme monarch and a universal law. No catholic law dictated by a supreme executive could have functioned in Dante's day. Incipient nationalism was too strong to sanction the creation of a single monarch. Dante's plan, sincere to the last page, could not have satisfied the standards of Joseph Smith. No ruler, unless endowed by the wisdom of God, could have served as supreme monarch and executed universal law. Since Dante's proposal did not sanction divine inspiration his universal law died before it could be born.

It was Henry IV of France who made the first practical draft for a world organization to enforce peace. Joseph Smith's reference to "every design has fallen," may refer to the "Great Design" which Henry proposed. The plan provided that toleration shall be mutual as between all religions. The Mormon Prophet would have indorsed this part whole-heartedly since he suffered a life of persecution and finally death, due to intolerance. Henry's scheme further provided for a confederation of fifteen nations presided over by the Holy Roman Emperor. All disputes between states were to be settled by a council supported by an international army and navy. Applying the Smith standard—the "Great Design" failed to even materialize since no person in that day possessed either the wisdom or the intelligence of God to organize or inspire such a union.

During the two-hundred years following the Great Design the world was favored by four great internationalists who preached revolution and universal peace. These great thinkers paved the way for the world's greatest peace advocate, Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet.

Grotius, the father of international law, proposed a law of nations and urged international arbitration. A true idealist, and a conscientious apostle of peace, his plan for universal peace and happiness deserves our highest respect for its contribution to international law. Since the ideals of Grotius are yet to be attained, it is but natural that his plan for arbitration in 1625 was unworkable. No man in that day possessed the gift of inspiration sufficiently to execute such a revolutionary idea. Had Joseph Smith lived in that century his ideas too would have met the same fate.

William Penn, America's first peace advocate, urged the creation of a European Parliament with powers to settle all international disputes. Nations, said he, which are unwilling to arbitrate were to be coerced by force of arms. Utopian in conception



and impractical in application, Penn's plan was impossible in an age of suspicion and competitive nationalism. The small nations were unwilling to place their destinies in the hands of power racketeers who sought their extermination. Penn should be given credit for his honest and genuine sincerity in seeking a remedy for war. He truly believed that compulsory arbitration could be forced by arms. Joseph Smith taught that the will to arbitrate was to be achieved through repentance. This is just as true with nations as it is with individuals. Since repentance is a gift from God, the will to arbitrate is also spiritual. Expressing the same idea in the language of Joseph Smith, the willingness to arbitrate needs the wisdom of God, the intelligence of God, and the power of God to accomplish." Like Ladd's congress of nations, Penn's European parliament possessed no divinity in its organization nor spirituality in its aims.

Rousseau, the great rebel, distrusted the absolute monarchs of his day, concluded that the only possibility for organizing a European federation of democratic states would be by violence and revolution. He clearly saw that peace and democracy were circumscribed by sinister forces which refused to equalize their privileges without a fight. Rousseau realized that world peace was impossible where there was neither liberty, equality nor fraternity. Joseph Smith was a true disciple of Rousseau. He opposed violence as a means of effecting reform but was a strong believer in revolution if effected peacefully. Both these men believed that the greatest force in combatting prejudices, intolerance and injustice was the revelation of truth. Rousseau, the great apostle of reform, democracy and peace, contributed mightily to the freedom of man. He prepared the world for freedom of thought, freedom of religion and freedom from fear.

Immanuel Kant, in his great essay, "Project for a Perpetual Peace," proclaimed the doctrine that peace depended on the creation of representative republican institutions, and a law of nations built on a federation of free states. This famous essay was published two years before our Federal Constitution was written at Philadelphia. The sentiments expressed in that great essay bore fruit in America where the first truly representative republican institution was born. Such institutions, however, could not exist in a world dominated by such autocrats as George III, Louis XVI, and Catherine II. The birth of the first republican form of government during this critical period marked the beginning of the end for crowned autocracy. The four men most responsible for inspiring the growth of free republican states are Grotius, Penn, Rousseau and Kant. It was their propaganda for liberty, peace and free democratic institutions which finally broke the power of the autocrats. It was their ideas, expressed in pamphlets and speeches, dignifying the rights of man, and teaching the virtues

of democracy, which inspired the revolutions. The tidal wave struck first in America. Joseph Smith had taught that the American Revolution was part of God's plan to liberate man from the bondage of conformity. He believed the Declaration of Independence ranked with the Ten Commandments as a document inspired by God. To Joseph Smith, the Federal Constitution ranked with any of the revelations in the New Testament. Since these documents stand so high in the estimation of the Prophet one can conclude that he believed the men who originated their principles were inspired. This conclusion leads to another equally important. If as Smith says, our Revolution was willed by God, surely the men responsible for that revolution were also inspired by God. These great revolutionists prepared the world for the birth of free democratic institutions, new religions, and individual freedom. If their principles had not succeeded there could not have been a Thomas Jefferson, an Abraham Lincoln, nor a Joseph Smith. The popularity of their doctrines broke the power of conformity, freed the conscience, and exalted the common man.

The gains made by the great revolutions in liberating the conscience and abolishing special privileges were temporarily nullified by the Holy Alliance. The supreme objective of the Metternich System was not to maintain peace, but to put down all revolutions which might jeopardize the safety of autocracy. Joseph Smith lived during the very period when this system reached its greatest force (1815-1840). The Prophet knew the Alliance was built on greed, selfishness, and the lust for power. By the year 1842 the system founded by Metternich was rapidly crumbling due to an epidemic of revolutions which spread over Europe. This disintegration illustrates vividly Joseph Smith's prediction that man's attempts to promote universal peace had proved abortive. The tension in Europe inspired the Prophet to exclaim:

"The world itself presents one great theatre of misery, woe, and distress of nations with perplexity! All speak with a voice of thunder, that man is not able to govern himself, to legislate for himself, to protect himself, to promote his own good, nor the good of the world."

The fruits of the Holy Alliance was misery among the peoples and disorder among the nations. The monarchists had substituted greed for inspiration, and the lust for power for the power of God. This explains why the Concert of Europe could neither legislate for peace nor promote the good of the world. If the Prophet's denunciation of the Concert's failure to promote world order should deserve such reproof surely his position on later peace moves should prove stimulating. A key to his position on these peace moves is clearly indicated by his insistence that revelation shall dominate the existence of all peace organizations.

The first Hague Conference (1899) was a conspicuous attempt to organize the world for peace. Its sponsor, a notorious monarch, was joined at the peace table by Europe's elite statesmen. These plenipotentiaries arrived in the Dutch city resolved that armament reduction should not be substituted for national security nor world peace for nationalism. In the tense shuffling which followed the opening session, it was soon evident that power politics was a stronger force than peace. The wisdom of God was replaced by the subtlety of man. In the great conflicts between rival groups, God was soon forgotten. Since Deity had no part in the decisions made, the Conference failed. Joseph Smith's prophecy that man, without the aid of God, could not legislate for himself, was fully demonstrated at this conference.

So conspicuous was the failure of the first Hague Conference that a second Conference was called in 1907 to stop the armament race. Hayes, a great historian, has given three reasons for its failure. It will be noted that his views reflect closely the sentiments of the Mormon Prophet. The historian's first reason: "The growth of the spirit of nationalism." Joseph Smith would have expressed the same idea: "The growth of national egotism—emplying independence from divine guidance." Second: "The survival of grave territorial questions which could not be subjected to peaceful arbitration." The Mormon leader would have re-stated the dead-lock: "Whenever the wisdom of God is replaced by mistrust and suspicion, peaceful solutions are impossible." Third: "The conviction that national salvation depended on an efficient military machine." Smith would have expressed his distrust in militarism in these words: "Faith in the power of God should never be substituted for faith in the power of military might." These were the insurmountable barriers which the Conference could not bridge. Both conferences fully vindicated the prediction of the Prophet that all efforts to promote universal peace which were not directed by divine inspiration would surely fail.

This brings us to man's major attempt to enforce peace,—the League of Nations. The aims of the League were honorable, its ideals high, and its constitution just. Why then, should the institution fail? Joseph Smith knew the answer. The League did not possess "the wisdom of God, the intelligence of God, nor the power of God" to enforce peace. In the absence of these essentials the League could not function. Nations, like individuals, are rudderless without divine guidance. This was clearly demonstrated when intrigue, duplicity, and trickery replaced divinity in its diplomacy. These machinations compromised all possibility for armament reductions. Greed, the struggle for raw materials, and the contest for world markets served to assure the complete failure of the League. Under this avalanche of conflicts the original ideals of the League were lost in the general clash of nationalism, rival alliances, and international jealousies. The unfortunate death

of the League emphasizes again the Prophets warning that all efforts to promote universal peace, unless inspired by Diety, shall surely fail.

The Armistice between the two great wars was noted for its confusion and hypocrisy. We witnessed nations trying desperately to avoid war and preparing for it at the same time. Disarmament conferences were held in one hand while Lacarno plots were hatched in the other. Kellog Pacts were solemnized in one hand while Manchurian crimes were committed in the other. Nations could neither unite on terms of peace nor agree on means to prevent war. It was a great age for the construction of military machines, for the perfection of diplomatic intrigue, and for the end of all hope for peace. Joseph Smith fore-warned us of the calamities. These international hypocrisies "speak with a voice of thunder, that man is not able to govern himself, . . . nor promote the good of the world."

A new world war was necessary to bring humanity back to her senses. We realize that peace must be fought for, prayed for, and nurtured by divinity. We readily see the weaknesses of the old League and have written a new Charter which we hope can enforce peace. To-date, the Charter is the best instrument the world has devised for enforcing international peace and security. Its organization and aims are so idealistic that it sounds unpatriotic to show pessimism. It is inconceivable that Joseph Smith would oppose its principles. The answer hinges on its divinity. Were its principles inspired by God? Will the United Nations Organization be administrated by men endowed by the wisdom of God, the intelligence of God, and the power of God? If the answer is in the affirmative then we can safely conclude that the Mormon Prophet would have been a strong advocate of the Charter. This is not to conclude, however, that the Charter is a plan superior to the one he advocated. The United Nations Organization may serve as a stepping stone to a greater. The Lord is still able, says the Prophet:

"If man would have been subject to His mandate, to regulate the affairs of this world, and promote peace and happiness among the human family. . . . The world has had a fair trial for six thousand years; the Lord will try the seventh thousand Himself; He whose right it is, will possess the kingdom, and reign until He has put all things under His feet."

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All quotations from Joseph Smith are from "Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith," pp. 250-52.